

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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*No. 172.—APRIL, 1888.*

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## ART. I.—THE MUSHÉRAS OF CENTRAL AND UPPER INDIA.

[Continued from January 1888 No., p. 53.]

### III.

THE domestic ceremonies of Mushéras centre round those connected with marriage, births, and burials. As village Mushéras have learnt to imitate Hindu customs more or less, and have not strictly adhered to their own, the following remarks will relate chiefly to hill Mushéras, amongst whom the primitive manners of the tribe have been maintained in a far greater degree of purity.

Hill Mushéras have been hitherto spoken of as an unit, by way of distinguishing them from the other two units, the Dehāti, or village Mushéras, and the Palki-carrying Mushéras (Dolkárhá). But so far as marriage and burial ceremonies are concerned, it is doubtful whether they can be counted as a single tribe. Their customs in these respects vary with locality; and this difference of custom, added to geographical separation, has tended to break up the uniform character, if not the actual unity, of the tribe. The hill tracts of Mirzapur, where hill Mushéras dwell, fall into two well defined natural divisions:—(1). The northern table land, commencing from the scarp of the Vindhya range, and reaching southward to the summit of the Kaimur range; (2) the valley of the Son, bounded by the Kaimur on the north and the Sargúja on the south. The southern half of the Son valley is a wilderness of hill and dale, ravine and crag, desert and forest, with here and there a hill-encircled alluvial basin, and bears the names of Singrauli and Dudhi. Those Mushéras who dwell in the Singrauli and

Dudhi tract are the least civilized section of the tribe ; and they have, as their immediate neighbours, on the south side of the Sargúja, the Korwas, a tribe as rude and backward as themselves. The degree of savagery attaching to the various sections decreases as we go northward ; the least savage being that on the outer edge of the Vindhya scarp, which separates the hills from the plains of Mirzapur. I cannot quite say that there are two distinct sub-tribes of hillmen corresponding to the two natural divisions of their country ; for no tribe or sub-tribe can (in the Indian sense at least) be considered as quite distinct, unless it debars itself, or is debarred, the right of intermarriage with other sub-tribes bearing the same name. In point of fact, however, intermarriage between the two sections is rare, and could not be practised except in places where the borders are conterminous, and where intermarriage might therefore be a convenience on both sides.

The largest and best section of the hill tribe is that which dwells in the northern table land, bounded on the north by the Vindhya scarp, and on the south by the Kaimur range. The fort of Pipri, from which, according to the legend, bands of Mushéras, under the leadership of Deosi, spread out into the Indian plains, lies in a secluded corner in the outer edge of this plateau. In the centre lies the "Kalwári" forest, so called apparently after the indigenous tribe of Karwárs or Khairwars, who with Mushéras, Savaris, and Cherus or Chandars make up the bulk of the inhabitants.\* This table land was anciently called Kolána, or "the land of the Kols,"† a name evidently given to it by the people of the plains, whose domestic customs and religious rites differed so much from that of the hillmen, that they stigmatised them by the name of Kol or Pig.

Amongst the savages of the Singrauli tract, marriage proceeds on the principle of free love, qualified by cohabitation, which, if continued for a few months in succession, becomes a life-long monogamous union. There is no previous betrothal ; nor any intervention of parents. The maid is free to give

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\* The sudden appearance of such a name as Kalwar in such a wilderness gives some countenance to the derivation of *Kalwar* from *Karwar* or *Khairwar* which I hazarded in my "Brief View of Castes," and which my reviewer in the *Pioneer* considered fanciful and groundless. It is well-known, too, that the Kol tribe of Khairwar are adepts in distilling fermented liquor from rice.

† North-Western Provinces Gazetteer, vol. xiv, 117. The modern name of a large part of this tract is Saktigarh. In the Gazetteer, Khairwars, Cherus and Savaris (Sioris) are specified among the inhabitants, but not Mushéras. Mention, however, is made of "Kols" in connection with the three tribes named. Many, or most of these Kols, are Mushéras.



herself to any young man, whom she may choose to accept, or who may be willing to take her as his partner. The marriage ceremony, or (to speak more correctly,) the thing which makes them man and wife and renders the union lasting, is the mere fact of living together within the same hut or cave for three or four months in succession. This is, probably, what we are to understand from Colonel Dalton's description of the Korwas of Sarguja, "that they have no marriage ceremonies," and from what the same writer says of the Savaris of Chutia Nagpur, that whatever ceremonial performances may take place afterwards, they have been preceded by "a private understanding between the contracting pair without intervention"\*. To this class of marriage we must ascribe the old Roman rite of *Usus*, and the old Hindu rite of *Gandharva*, which is thus described in *Manu*:—"The voluntary union of a maiden and her lover one must know to be the *Gandharva* rite, which springs from love, and has mutual desire for its purpose": the same rite at bottom, as that known in more recent Hindu poetry as *Swayamvara*, or "the free choice" of the maid, followed by a battle between the accepted lover and the disappointed suitors. † Up to within 40 or 50 years ago, it was common, in certain parts of England, among the peasantry and farm labourers, for a youth to cohabit with a maid for some months before marrying her since he declined to bind himself for life by the formal rite until he had seen proof that she suited him and was not infertile.

In the *Gandharva* state of society there is, of course, the risk that temporary unions, contracted in a thoughtless moment, may not end in permanent cohabitation. A maid may thus become pregnant, or give birth to a child, before she has been finally appropriated by some individual man. Among *Mushéras* of the *Singrauli* tract (as also amongst the *Tharus* of the Sub-Himalyan forest, where a similar but greater laxity before marriage entails a greater risk), the difficulty is solved by the eventual husband taking any such child as may have been born, or be about to be born, and rearing it as his own. A child conceived or born out of wedlock is invariably the property of the mother, and never that of the father, (even when the father is known), unless he comes into possession of the child by afterwards appropriating the mother. Thus, if the mother is subsequently appropriated by some man other

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\* Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 229, and p. 150.

† For the *Gandharva* rite of marriage, see *Manu's Code*, II. 32. The rite is so called from the *Gandharvas*, a class of demi-gods, who lived on terms of unbridled intimacy with the *Apsarases*, the courtezans of the sky.

than the father, the child, whom she has borne, or may be about to bear, is appropriated with her, and is taught to look to the putative father as its real one. Mushéra girls are more cautious, however, than Tharu ones in their relations with the other sex ; and the desertion of a maid by a man, who has once taken her into his hut and made her pregnant, is condemned by the opinion of the tribe. Unchastity, or a change of lovers on either side, when once mutual appropriation has been made, is a thing of rare occurrence, and if proved before an assembly summoned to examine the case, is punished by the sentence of excommunication against the offender.

Among those Mushéras, who dwell in the northern table land, marriage is on a thoroughly regulated footing. It is invariably preceded by betrothal : and betrothal is generally contracted while the girl is still a mere child. It takes one by surprise at first to find that such a practice as that of child-betrothal could prevail among such a backward race ; and the first impression one would form is, that the custom must have been borrowed from the Hindus. On second thoughts, however, there is reason to believe that the custom is indigenous, and was not borrowed from any outside source. In the first place, child betrothal is not followed by child marriage, as it is amongst Hindus ; and this discrepancy could hardly have existed, if there had been any borrowing in the process. In the second place, there is a natural connection between betrothal and regulated marriage. Assuming (what is the case amongst Mushéras) that very great importance is attached to the betrothal contract, and that it is held to be binding even after the parents on both sides are dead, there is every reason why the father should seek, while he is still living, to have his daughter provided for against the uncertainties of his own life. Nor are examples wanting, in other parts of the world, in confirmation of this view. Thus among the Karens of Burma "children are generally betrothed by "their parents in infancy, and heavy damages are exacted "for the non-fulfilment of this obligation." In Japan "marriage "was usually preceded by a ceremonious betrothal, which was "more binding than such a ceremony is now regarded by "American law." In China, marriage contracts are sometimes entered into before the children are born, and such contracts are only broken when the children turn out to be of the same sex. Among the now extinct Negritos of Tasmania the wives were frequently betrothed to the husband from childhood, "and from the time of their betrothal became members of his "family circle, &c." In New Caledonia a girl is betrothed as soon as she is born to some one present on the occasion, "and



"when 7 or 8 years of age, goes to his house, and is taken care of by the family until she is older."\* Examples to this effect, drawn from savage or semi-civilized life, might be multiplied. It is only in cases where the choice of the husband depends solely on the will of the maid herself (as in the now obsolete Hindu rite of Swayamvara) or where the woman is obtained by capture (as in the now obsolete rite of Rákshasa) or by simple purchase (as in the old Roman rite of Coemptio) that betrothal can be dispensed with as a preliminary to marriage. Wherever the rite of capture has passed from fact to form, betrothal must have accompanied, if not preceded, the change; or the game of capture would soon revert into a serious reality.

Great importance is attached (as we have said) to the betrothal contract by all Muserás amongst whom the custom exists. The father of the girl looks out for some boy or youth, to whom his daughter can be promised in marriage, when she is of the age of eight or upwards. Having made his selection or ascertained what boy the daughter herself might prefer, he goes to the hut or cave in which the father of the boy resides, and spends a day or two there as a guest. When both the fathers have consented to the union, a few mutual friends or acquaintances are summoned to act as witnesses. A Pathári or tribal priest is then sent for, and a small vessel of water is placed before him. Each parent, that is, the father of the boy and the father of the girl, then takes a grain of rice; and each, repeating the name of his own child, throws it into the water. If the two grains fall to the bottom of the vessel at the same spot, the omen is considered auspicious and the union is decided on. If they fall at some distance apart, the project is given up; and the father of the girl must go to some other household where, if he finds a suitable mate for his daughter, he must repeat the same process for testing the desirability or otherwise of the union. Cases of doubt as to whether the grains have fallen near enough to each other or not, are decided by the Pathári. When the betrothal has been agreed to, each parent produces a cup of rice-beer previously procured for the purpose; and each changes his own for that of the other. Both cups are then placed before the Pathári, who at this point repeats a form of words, enquiring whether it is intended by both sides that the projected union shall take

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\* Forbes' *British Burma*, p. 286, edit. 1878.

J. J. Rein's *Japan*, p. 624, edit. 1884.

Folklore Journal, July and September 1887, p. 226.

Proceedings of Royal Society, Tasmania, iii, p. 281.

Turner's *Polynesia*, p. 423.

Even among the savage and licentious Masais betrothal is practised :  
See *Through Masai Land*, by J. Thomson, 1885, p. 93, and p. 113.

place or not. When both sides have answered aloud in the affirmative in the presence of the witnesses, and each has declared that in the event of his breaking the contract, when the girl is grown up and is ripe for marriage, he will be held guilty by his tribesmen and will expect the penalty of banishment, the Pathári first tastes the liquor himself and then distributes it among all the men and women present. After the rice-beer has once been distributed and drunk, the contract is sealed, and both sides are bound to keep it on penalty of excommunication, unless some really valid reason, such as leprosy, can be hereafter shewn. It is only by the consent of a tribal council, presided over by the Pathári, that such a contract can be dissolved. If the parent on either side avoids the fulfilment of the contract without such consent, he is driven out of the society of his tribe, and can only be re-admitted after a space of 12 years. This simple ceremony (it will be observed) is of a very different nature from that in force amongst Hindus. There is no buying or selling; no bargaining about the price to be paid for the boy, or that to be given by the other side; no exchange of gifts. It is sealed simply by the exchange and distribution of rice-beer, and by a declaration made on both sides in the presence of witnesses.

There are two facts which serve to explain the binding character of this betrothal rite. Firstly, in the Cheru or Chandel legend (described in the first section of this essay), the reader will remember that the distribution and exchange of wine cups was the ceremony, by means of which the disguised Ahir pedlar, who afterwards opened the gates of Pipri to Lorik, was admitted into membership with the Chéru tribe. Secondly, it is an article of faith among the Kol tribes generally, that the two first parents of the human race did not become acquainted with the art of multiplying their kind until they had derived their inspiration from the drinking of *illi* or rice-beer. The exchange of cups, then, between the two parents might be intended not merely to seal the future union of the youth and maid, but to foreshadow a fertile and prosperous marriage.

The ceremony of marriage follows that of betrothal at intervals which vary according to the age of the girl; for no girl is married before she is grown up, that is, before she is of the age of 12 or 13 at the earliest.\* The marriage ceremony

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\* On the early development of girls born in the tropics, whether in India or elsewhere, see Baron Von Hubner's *Through the British Empire*, Vol. II, p. 376. In describing a dancing girl, he says: "I should have put her at 18 years of age. But she was really only 13." In Japan, where the climate is similar to that of Southern Europe, girls are married at 16.—See *Unbeaten Tracts of Japan*, by Miss A Bird, Vol. I., p. 318.



is usually performed in the months of Magh and Phágun (January and February) in the cold season, or in the months of Baisákh, Jeth, and Asárh (April, May and June) in the hot. It rests with the youth to make the first proposal to the girl as to the day to be selected for the performance of the ceremony. In choosing this day no account whatever is taken of the difference between lucky and unlucky stars, as is the invariable custom amongst Hindus, that is, amongst all those tribes and castes of the Indian continent who are living under Brahmanical influence, and can pay a fee to the Jyotishi or Astrologer.

The mode in which the youth gives notice to the girl of his desire to have the marriage celebrated is by sending her some sweetmeats and a piece of cloth. This is not so much a wedding present, as an invitation to her to come to him. If the girl keeps the present, it is understood by him that she accepts the invitation and is ready to start. But if she returns the present, he understands that the marriage must be postponed. No words or messages pass between them: all is conveyed by symbol, and by symbol only. Similarly in China, the wedding day is notified symbolically by means of certain gifts which the youth sends to his affianced bride. He sends her a goose and gander, some wine and fruits, and a marriage robe. If she keeps the goose, but sends back the gander (the latter bird being emblematic of herself as the mate of the goose), this signifies to him that she is coming, and that immediate preparations must be made for receiving her: whereas, if she retains the gander, this indicates that she intends to withhold her company from him for the present.\* But without going so far away as China, we may note that, if allowance is made for the change of place between bride and bridegroom, there is a parallel in the Hindu marriage customs, which is known as *Aipanwári*. This is the ceremony by which the youth, while he is on march towards the maid, and has nearly reached her dwelling, sends to her, through the family barber, a cup of crushed rice mixed with turmeric to indicate that he is on the way and is to be expected.

The marriage ceremony practised by Hill Mushéras bears no resemblance whatever to that practised by Hindus. The bridegroom does not go to the bride's house, but the bride goes to his. She is not carried off in a dooli, screaming and wailing, by her quasi-captors; but walks on foot, smiling and laughing, to the home of her betrothed. The ceremony which ties the marriage knot does not consist in the bridegroom leading her seven times round the pole, or in rubbing a streak of red

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\* Folklore Journal, July and September, 1887, p. 233.

lead in the parting of her hair. All such forms are entirely foreign to the Mushérá ceremony wherever this is performed in its genuine character, as it still is among those who have kept to their native hills and forests.

The ceremony is on this wise: The girl sets out to the house of the affianced bridegroom, accompanied by her parents, or by any other male or female relatives who may be invited to go with her. Previous to their arrival at the bridegroom's hut, a fowl's egg is placed at the entrance. The youth to whom she is to be married then comes out to receive her. The girl is presented to him by her mother. Taking her by the hand, and holding her hand firmly in his own, he leads her up to the mouth of the hut, and breaks the egg with his foot. On his completing this act (which he can only perform while he is holding her hand, so that it may be considered a joint action), the company present raise a simultaneous shout of *ku*, which means "hurrah." By holding her hand firmly in his own, he signifies that he has accepted her. By breaking the fowl's egg with his foot, while he is in the act of holding her hand, he signifies that he has renounced all desire for any other woman; and she by allowing him to hold her hand while he performs this act, signifies to him and to the company that she on her part has renounced all desire for any other man: for the fowl, it will be remembered, is an animal which Mushérás do not rear, and which they avoid almost as scrupulously as the horse. The girl is then made to enter the hut, the youth directing her to the door. On entering the hut she takes hold of the feet of the youth's mother and touches them with her forehead, signifying by this that she intends to do honor to her son, as his wedded wife. The mother-in-law then gives her her blessing in the following words, some of which are of Hindi, and others of the Mushéra language:—

*Bhú magnú maharin hito sohágin ramali kanto rasa kiv.*

"Remaining in the blissful state of marriage do thou give "delight to thy husband." The youth then leaves the hut, the bride remaining with her newly-made mother-in-law. This closes the first part of the ceremony.

The next part begins with the cooking of a kind of rice (which in the Mushéra language is called *kutki*) into a paste or gruel thin enough to be drunk. This decoction is poured into cups made of the leaf of the Mahul tree, one cup being provided for each adult present, including the bride and bridegroom. Here it should be understood that rice is the sacred grain among several of the Kol tribes, a sanctity which it shares with barley in Hindu or Brahmanical marriages.\* When

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\* No sanctity attaches to wheat in Hindu marriages. But rice and barley are indispensable in such ceremonies, and little branches of mango.



the rice-paste or gruel is ready and each Mahul cup has been filled, the company are made to sit round in a ring, and the bride is brought out of the hut, and made to take her seat in the middle with the bridegroom. The bridegroom then kisses her on the mouth, in token that he is to be her husband: and she in her turn kisses his feet and strokes his back up and down with her hand, in token that she is to be his and will tend him as a dutiful wife. This ceremony is called *mukhra chumba* (kissing the mouth), or *munh dekhna* (seeing the face), or *kar pherna* (moving the hand up and down.) When the pair have given this public token that each has accepted and appropriated the other, the cups are distributed, one to each person; and every person present, including the bride and bridegroom, swallows the contents of his own cup. Immediately after this the following couplet is repeated in unison by all the company, excepting only the bride and bridegroom themselves, to whom the words are addressed:—

*Kutki ki pich banâi mahul kâ daunâ,  
Bodi bodâ byâh bhyau lena na denâ.*

“The rice-paste has been prepared in the Mahul cup; the maid and the youth are married,—no giving or taking.” Then there is a general shout of *ku* or “hurrah,” which means that the ceremony is completed. “Now, see how easily a boy and girl can be married,” said a high caste Hindu to me with mixed feelings of surprise and envy when he heard the account of this simple ceremony, contrasting as it does so forcibly with the complicated, costly, priest-ridden, and star-obstructed formalities of the Hindu marriage rite. In the last few words of the formula quoted “no giving or taking,” there is evidently an allusion to the bargaining practised by Hindus or others, from which Museras have kept themselves clear.

On reviewing the above details the question arises, what is the binding part of the ceremony? or in other words, what part or parts could be omitted without rendering the marriage invalid or incomplete? It seems most probable that each of the two rites described above was originally a complete marriage ceremony by itself, but that they have now been so long associated in practice that neither could be safely omitted. The blessing pronounced by the bridegroom’s mother on the bride at the close of the first rite, implies that she (the bride) is now fully married:—“Do thou give delight to thy husband.”

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Wheat is no where, nor are any other grains but rice and barley recognized at such times. Barley is frequently alluded to in the Vedas, as the food of the Aryas. Rice and mango in the wild state are indigenous to India. The most natural inference to be drawn from this is, that wheat found its way into India at a later date, but was unable to deprive the older grain (rice) of its already acquired sanctity.

Similarly the words spoken by the witnesses, at the close of the second ceremony, imply that there is nothing left to complete the validity of the marriage. "The rice-paste has been eaten; the youth and girl are married: hurrah." What gives the binding force in the first ceremony is the joining of hands while the groom breaks the egg, and the formal reception of the bride inside the bridegroom's house or hut,—the *deductio in domum*, as the Romans would have called it, from a parallel ceremony of their own. What gives the binding force in the second ceremony is the fact of the bride and bridegroom eating together some rice-paste or gruel cooked in the bridegroom's own fire; and this the Romans would have identified with a marriage rite of their own, known as *confarreatio*.

One salient fact to be noticed in connection with these ceremonies is the prominent part taken by the mother on both sides. On the side of the bride, it is the mother and not the father who formally presents her to the intended bridegroom. On the side of the bridegroom, it is the mother, and not the father who formally receives the bride into the hut and pronounces a blessing over her. The prominence here given to the mother is well in keeping with the legend which traces the origin of the tribe not to a male, but a female ancestor, Savari or Banaspati: and if we pass from legend to existing facts, it may be regarded as the natural sequence to the Gandharva rite still practised (as we have shown) among a considerable section of the tribe, by which the child is in certain cases the property of the mother before it can become that of the father. A similar survival of matriarchy is seen in the marriage rite of the Kur or Kurku tribe living to the east of the Sarguja range, and therefore in close proximity to Mushéras: "The bridegroom's party on arrival at the bride's house is now received by the bride's *brother*, who appears with offerings of water and food: the bridegroom dismounts and seats himself on the ground, and the bride's *mother* coming forward, stuffs between his jaws five mouthfuls of cooked food. She then washes his mouth, gives him a kiss, and invites him to go inside," &c. Another instance is furnished in the marriage rite of the Savaris, the actual kinsmen or ancestors of Mushéras: "after the bridegroom has made his election the following gifts are bestowed in his behalf: to the girl's father, a bullock; to the *maternal* uncle, a bullock; to the *mother*, one rupee and a cloth." In this ceremony of purchase, then, (which the Romans would have recognized as a mode of *coemptio*), the mother's brother and the mother herself receive separate gifts independently of the father, who is treated as if he were a person apart, and not strictly as one with themselves. Similarly among the indigenous tribes of Australia,



"the mere surrender of the girl *by the mother*, with the full "consent of the rest of the tribe, to her future lord," constitutes the marriage ceremony: this, in cases where the woman is not procured (as she often is in Australia) by stealth or capture. \*

In almost every tribe or nation the marriage ceremonies are accompanied with some act of worship suitable to its own characteristics of creed or custom. It is needless to allude to the religious character of the rite or rites observed throughout all Christian countries. The Greeks paid worship on such occasions to Zeus and Here, the supreme pair, and to the local deities of the state or village in which the married pair resided; the Romans to the Di Penates, or household gods, that is, to the souls of deceased ancestors; the Hindus pay worship, either by symbol or act, to the souls of ancestors, to the cooking place and the cooking vessels, and after the bride has been brought to her new house to the village god: the Chinese pay worship to heaven and earth, to the tablets of deceased ancestors, and to the god who presides over the kitchen. Mushéras, in like manner, pay worship to Deosi, the male ancestor and founder of their tribe; and sometimes a piece of cloth with some sweetmeats is set aside in honor of Savari, their more remote female ancestor, or to mother Banaspati, their great goddess and protector. In the worship of Deosi, it is again the mother of the bridegroom who acts as priestess and sacrificer; and again it is rice which is used as the sacred grain.

The first act in this worship is to take some unhusked rice, remove the husk with her own hand, grind the grain, mix it with water, knead it, and cook it into a pancake. All this, and whatever follows, must be done with the right hand only. The pancake so cooked is then besmeared with honey,—the wild honey which Mushéras are so clever in collecting from the woods, and which is therefore a fit offering to the deified ancestor, from whom they learnt the art. Taking this pancake with her, together with some rice-beer, a piece of yellow cloth, some more honey, some wild fruits and flowers, some dūb grass, and a live kid or ram, she proceeds to the clay figure or mound intended to represent Deosi. There, after sprinkling some river water in front of the figure or mound in order to

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\* For the Kur or Kurku rite, see Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 234. But this rite, as the author's description shews, has now been wedged into the middle of the Hindu rite of *Bhauri*, with which it is evidently quite out of keeping. For the Savari rite, see p. 150. This Savari rite relates to betrothal or what precedes marriage rather than to marriage itself. This, however, does not affect the question, since the marriage ceremony is performed immediately afterwards. On the subject of Australian marriage, see *Trans. Ethno. Soc. New Series*, III, p. 248.

purify the spot (for Museras, like Hindus, are worshippers of rivers and believe in the purifying influence of their waters) she deposits all her offerings, except the kid or ram, on a plate or plates made of mahul leaves. She then strikes pure and new fire by the sacred process of rubbing one stick on another, and with this fire she cooks the offerings. Her object in thus cooking the offerings is to enable the deified Deosi to inhale the scented smoke, a vaporous invisible being like Deosi being not fit to inhale any but vaporous substances. She then decapitates the goat with a single blow of the axe, and places the bleeding uncooked head as an offering of blood and life before the image. Then touching the earth with her forehead she repeats or sings the following four lines, every word of which except the second is in the Musera language :—

*Deosi bába hit timro magnu maharin Indra hadariya potis ri*  
*Boglo pokpa dudhali chimlá nibéri hit timro boglo pokpa ri,*  
*Popaki imi iyá chimlá chimli thammo ri*  
*Kemali Indra hadariyá hutmu chimlo teplis kero ri.*

“Come into this world, O Father Deosi, from the palace of Indra. Eat food cooked by the mother of the bridegroom; come and eat this food. Having eaten these offerings bestow thy blessing on the bride and bridegroom; then return to the palace of Indra, O ancestor, and behold (again) the dances of the dancing girls.” The singing or intonation of these words completes the ceremony. The carcass of the victim is then carried back to the hut, where it is cooked in the evening for the marriage feast with which the day is brought to a close. The only part taken by the father of the bridegroom in these proceedings is that he helps to eat the goat, and is apt to take more than his fair share of the rice-beer provided for the feast. The bride and bridegroom are the most honored guests in this banquet, and the festivities of the day generally close with some singing and music after Musera fashion. Next morning the newly wedded pair quit the parental hut or cave and go out into the forest to seek their fortunes together and found an independent home.

Thus far as to the marriage rites of Hill Museras. Museras of the plains (in which class we include both Bindrábani and Dolkárhá) have not retained these rites in their purity. In the first place they recognize, as Hindus do, but as their hill ancestors do not, a difference between lucky and unlucky days. Having lived for centuries in the near vicinity of Hindu village life, (not actually inside the villages, but in some patch of jungle on the outskirts), and having observed how intensely careful all classes of villagers are to make sure that the day fixed for the marriage is a lucky one, they have themselves as a matter of necessity become slaves to the same superstitions.



But as they cannot consult or see the Astrologer (Jyotishi), they find out the day and hour on which some high caste marriage ceremony is about to be performed, and select their own day and hour accordingly. In the second place, as regards the manner in which the marriage rite is performed, there is no saying how much or how little of the ancestral rite is observed, or whether in some cases the said rite is not set aside altogether in favour of the Hindu *Bhaunri* which consists in the circumambulation of the marriage pole by the youth and maid with joined hands or joined garments. There are, however, four points which bear the stamp of genuine Mushéra custom. however much the marriage ceremonies may deviate from this in other respects :—

(1.) There is no *barát* or procession of males to the house of the bride. The bride goes herself to the hut of the bridegroom, accompanied by her parents, and without any weeping or wailing indicative of pretended capture.

(2.) One of the names for marriage among village Mushéras is *khichri pakána*, that is, "cooking rice and pulse together." Evidently, then, it is the act of cooking rice together at the same fire and eating it from the same leaf-plate, which gives binding force to the marriage union, as the eating of rice-paste does in the case of hillmen.

(3.) The mother of the bridegroom, and not a Brahman, is usually the matrimonial priest. It is true that here and there some Brahman of a very low type, or some man who has assumed this title, will consent to act as purohit or family priest to Mushéras both for marriages and for other domestic rites. But such cases are rare ; and the answer given by a Mushéra villager in Gorakhpur, in reply to the question whether or no Brahmans were employed in their marriage rites, was clear and decisive : "To us, our mother is the Brahman."

(4.) In the songs which follow the completion of the rite, the bridegroom is presented by his mother with the tribal tool, the *gahdála*, and told to go out and seek his living in the forest as his ancestors have done before him. Here is a specimen of a marriage song sung by the mother of the bridegroom and by the other women present, the language of which is Hindi : for in village hamlets the Mushéra language is no longer heard :—

*Suno, Suno ré dulhé ramá,  
Kichli ka pag bándhun,  
Hath men gahdála deun,  
Khechwi gopalu deun  
Kedarí ka ban deun  
Jao re khano tu,  
Ban men ahe a karo.*

"Listen, listen, O bridegroom. I bind a turban of snake-skin (on thy head.) I give a *gahdála* into thy hand. "I give thee tortoise and frog. I give thee a forest of plantain. "Go thou and dig (for roots,) and hunt (wild animals) in the "forest." This gift of a piece of forest, conferred simultaneously with the gift of a *gahdála*, exemplifies (what we stated above, in describing the industries of the tribe), that even in the Indian plains, where every scrap of land, whether arable or jungle, is the lawful property of some village landlord, they still cherish the fiction, that the forest is their own, and parcel it out among their children with the most unquestioning faith in their proprietary rights. So, too, of the Veddahs of Ceylon it has been said:—"The father of the bride presents his son-in-law "with a bow; his own father assigns him a right of chase in "a portion of his hunting ground."\* Here the gift of the bow may be compared with the gift of the *gahdála*, while the gift of a piece of forest is the same on both tribes, except that amongst Mushéras the donor of both gifts, according to the song, is the mother.

Having thus sketched the details of the Mushéra marriage rite, we have now to ask, what kinds of unions are held to be legitimate? What are the degrees of consanguinity between the contracting pair, within which marriages are not considered incestuous? The answer is very simple. On the mother's side a girl cannot be given in marriage to the son of her mother's sister or of her mother's brother. On the father's side, she cannot be given to the son of her father's sister or of her father's brother, or to the son or grandson of any of her father's aunts or uncles. Thus, on the mother's side, the prohibition goes back to only one generation, and on the father's to two. No marriages outside these limits are accounted incestuous. The greater respect shewn for male above female relationship is not inconsistent with the important part played by the mother in the ceremonies of marriage. For it is quite possible that matriarchy can survive in form in the celebration of domestic rites or in various other ways, even after it has been superseded by patriarchy in fact, that is, in the practical usages of every day life. The reader will remember that amongst Mushéras it is the betrothal contract which fixes the fate of the boy and girl for life, and makes them man and wife prospectively; and that this contract is made by the fathers, not by the mothers, on both sides. What follows is a series of formalities already predetermined, in which the mother continues to play the conspicuous part which a long established tradition has assigned to her.

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\* Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon, Vol. II, p. 241.



Amongst Hindus, as amongst Mushéras, the bar to marriage is stricter on the male side than on the female ; but here the parallel ceases. For Hindus carry the restriction on both sides to an excess, to which Mushéras are entire strangers. Here, the prohibition on the mother's side extends theoretically to the fifth (practically to the third or fourth) generation ; while on the father's side it embraces a widely extended group of agnatic kinsmen, which, in the language of ancient Rome, was called a *gens*, in the language of tribes is called a clan or sept, and in the language of Indian castes is known as *gotra*, or *kul*, or *bansh*,—a *gotra* by Brahmans and their imitators, a *bansh* by Chattris, and a *kul* by the inferior castes. Thus amongst Mushéras the prohibited group on the male side is a small circle, bounded by the generation of the grandfather ; while amongst Hindus it embraces a large ancestral clan, all members of which are supposed to stand to each other in the relation of brother and sister, between whom therefore a connubial connection would be incestuous. The name of the ancestor, saint, or leader, after whom the clan is called, may be lost in legend ; and his very existence may be a fable. But all who bear his title must regard each other as blood relations between whom no intermarriage can be permitted.

Among Mushéras of the Singrauli tract (who, as we shewed above, constitute the most savage section of the tribe, having no betrothal ceremony, and no marriage rite beyond the simple fact of cohabitation), the consanguineous bars to marriage are much fewer than among the rest of the tribe. Here the only bar founded on consanguinity is the relationship of mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister, and half-brother and half-sister. Nothing outside these limits is accounted incestuous. We are thus brought to the very edge of that primeval condition of society in which promiscuity reigns supreme, where brothers can be married to their sisters, fathers to their daughters, and sons to their mothers ; instances of which unions may still be found in one form or other among the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Karens of Tenasserim, the Sandwich Islanders, the Malagasies, &c., and are known to have occurred among the Peruvians, the Iranians, the ancient Egyptians, the ancient Greeks, and the ancient Norse.

Thee bright haired Vesta, long of yore,  
To solitary Saturn bore :  
His daughter she : in Saturn's reign  
Such mixture was not deemed a stain.

*Il Penseroso*, 23—6.

Among Mushéras themselves the tradition of marriage unions between brother and sister is not wholly extinct : for

it has survived, as the reader will remember, in the legend which traces the origin of the tribe to the union of a brother and sister, the Savar and Savari, born as twins from the maiden in the hermit's hut whom Shiva disguised as a Savar impregnated with a glance from his prolific eye. \* Thus, the further we go back in the history of our race, the nearer do we get to that state of primeval promiscuity, more or less absolute, out of which the various forms of marriage rites, the different bars to marriage founded on blood relationship, and the distinctive titles and meanings attached to the various degrees of consanguinity, have been fashioned by the slow progress of the race.

The careful investigations made by Mr. H. H. Risley into the structure and working of the marriage groups prevalent among the chief Kolarian tribes of Chutia Nagpur (a plateau lying chiefly to the east of the habitat of Mushéras, Korwas, and their congeners) have lately thrown fresh light on the fact that the said tribes are parcelled out by means of totems, into a well defined system of exogamous septs or sections, which go by the male side only, and which therefore place the same restrictions on marriage, so far as *male* kinship is concerned, as the Gotra, or Bansh, or Kul, prevalent amongst the various Hindu castes of the north India plains ; while, so far as *female* kinship goes, the said tribes are not debarred from contracting marriages "which the average Hindu would regard as incestuous" † Now, as regards the prohibited and permitted degrees of relationship on the mother's side, the case of Mushéras is (as has been shewn already) on much the same footing as that of the Santhal, Bhumij, Mahili, and other tribes described by Mr. Risley : and since these tribes are of the same Kolarian stock as the Mushéra tribe, it might have been expected that Mushéras would be subject to the same restrictions on the father's side also, through

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\* The reader need not be reminded that the same indifference to incest underlies the Biblical account of the descent of the entire human race from a single pair. A curious parallel to this is furnished by the Kol doctrine of the origin of the different nations of men. According to this the first parents produced 12 sons and 12 daughters, each male then paired off with a female. The first and second pair fed upon beef and originated the Kols.—Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 185.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July 1886, Article III. The same fact had been noted in the case of the Hos, Oraons, and Santals by Colonel Dalton—*vide* *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 189. "The Mindáris, like the Oraons, adopt as their tribal distinction some animal, and the flesh of that animal is tabooed to them as food, as the eels, the tortoise." Here the tribal distinction is evidently a clan or sept, distinguished by a totem. Colonel Dalton's remarks on the exogamous clans of the Oraons are given in p. 254.



a similar system of sub-division into totemistic exogamous septs. Of this, however, I can find no trace whatever. Among Mushéras the limit on the male side, within which a man may not marry, consists (as we have shewn) simply of the small family group bounded by the generation of the grandfather, and as such groups must be constantly changing with the death of the grandfather and his generation, there can be no tribal distinctions or clans by which endogamy is barred. Colonel Dalton has observed the same fact amongst the Korwás, the nearest neighbours to Mushéras and their co-equals in point of culture. "I could not find that the hill Korwás had, like their cognates, any tribal distinctions by which restrictions on intermarriage were imposed" \*

The Mushéras of the plains have retained to this day the same characteristics in this respect as their brethren or rather ancestors in the hills. Though they have lived for centuries amongst Hindu castes, many of whom have contracted within their ranks a well defined system of agnatic exogamous clans called by distinctive names, yet they have never learnt to sub-divide and parcel out their own community on the same principle. There is the same absence of tribal subdivisions, the same indifference to blood relationship beyond the generation of the grandfather, which has marked them from the beginning.

In short, the Mushéra tribe, wherever we find it, is intensely endogamous. Not only does a village Mushéra invariably marry a village Mushéra, a Dolkárha a Dolkárha, and a Hillman a Hillman, but within each of these limits a man prefers to take a wife from his nearest neighbours to seeking one from a distance. Though a family will frequently move their hut from one place to another according to the season of the year or on other grounds of convenience, yet they never migrate to a distance, or leave the jungle, hill, or river bank on which they were born, unless necessity compels them to go elsewhere in search of a subsistence. In fact, it is against the rules of the tribe for a man to hunt for roots or vermin outside his own jungle or within another man's so-called proprietary rights; and hence his peregrinations in search of a wife are not likely to take an extensive range. Again, there is not a trace of even the form of wife-capture in any of their marriage rites; from which it may be inferred that exogamy or the desire for distant marriages was never known amongst them. On the other hand, the preference for their own people and for nearest neighbours to more distant ones has tended to perpetuate the practise of marriages

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\* Ethnology of Bengal, p. 229.

close of kin, which by most communities in India would be regarded as incestuous.

Side by side with this attachment to endogamy, we find an equally keen adherence to the principle of monogamy, or the union of one man to one woman,—the only type of conjugal union which is practised or even tolerated in any section of the tribe either in the hills or plains. There is not a trace, among their marriage customs, of any of those forms of conjugal communism which Mr. McLennan would have us believe are the invariable necessary stages through which *all* tribes and nations have passed or must yet pass, before they can reach the final goal of monogamy. Any other form of union than that of individual appropriation they regard with a disgust amounting to a superstition; and it is difficult to see how any other form of marriage could ever have existed among a people broken up, as the Museras are, into minute social aggregates, consisting sometimes of a single family, and never of more than three or four families at a time. They have no taste for the Hindu custom, by which married brothers live together in the same house as one family. When a young man marries, he at once leaves the parental roof with his partner; and the two go out "hand in hand" into the forest in search of a subsistence, as our first parents "took their solitary way hand in hand" when driven out of Paradise. Their married state is that of the wild beast in his den, with only this difference, that the union of the male and female (once possibly as temporary as among the beasts,) is enduring and life-long. Theirs is not the union of the Andamanese, of whom it has been said that "the man remains "with the woman until a child is born and weaned, and then "seeks another wife," but of the Veddahs, of whom an eye witness has testified, "that death alone separates husband and wife."\*

After what we have just written, it is almost needless to add that divorce, except for the one offence of infidelity, is not practised or tolerated. Such an offence very rarely occurs; and the habitual chastity of one partner ensures that of the other. If, however, a wife is accused of unchastity by her husband, and has been declared guilty by the assembly, her position is one of great difficulty. No married man can take her in addition to his own wife; for bigamy is disallowed. No unmarried man or widower can take her of his own free will without incurring the penalty of excommunication. A man cohabiting with such a woman could of course retire with her and live in a state of isolation, in the corner of some jungle

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\* On the Andamanese, see Transactions of Ethnological Society, New Series, Vol. V., p. 45. On the Veddahs, see Vol. II, p. 292-3.



as some couples do from choice; but if he sought to ally himself to one or two other households for mutual aid and protection, he would for sometime be rejected altogether, and could only obtain admission at last by incurring what to him is the heavy penalty of banqueting the other households for several days in succession. The separation of man and wife is so much disliked and discouraged by tribal opinion, that a wife cannot be divorced except on the most direct proof of guilt, or by a successful appeal to some ordeal, if the accuser is rash enough to expose himself to such an uncertain test. Frivolous charges or unprovable suspicions, if the husband is so imprudent as to bring them before an assembly, are dismissed with contempt, and the accuser is hooted for his pains.

Supposing, however, that unchastity is proved, and a sentence of divorce is pronounced by the assembly, the ceremony by which divorce is effected is as follows: An earthen pot is placed between the husband and wife, and an assembly is called to witness it. After it has been lying there sometime, the man gets up and breaks it with the tribal tool, indicating thereby that the union between them is broken beyond repair. This ceremony is called *khapar kuchi*, or breaking the pot.

If a wife becomes a widow, while she is still young enough to re-marry, she has no claim upon the younger brother of her deceased husband, nor has he upon her. If she comes to terms with some widower who desires to re-marry, the union is sealed by their simply eating and drinking together in the presence of witnesses, who are invited to share in the repast.

The burial customs, to which we now turn, relate partly to the disposal of the corpse, partly to the laying or pacifying of the ghost, and partly to the purification of the living. There is more variety among these customs than in those relating to marriage, and the variations go with locality.

Museras of Singrauli (whose marriage customs, it will be remembered, are the rudest in the tribe) simply leave the corpse in the place where the man or woman died. If he or she died in the jungle or in the open air, they cover the body with leaves and bushes, and go away. If he died inside his cave or hut, no other covering is considered necessary. The place is thenceforth abandoned by the survivors, who take no relic of the dead with them when they migrate to another part of their hill or jungle. There is safety, as they believe, in this precaution. For, if they took with them a limb or bone from the dead man's body, the ghost would probably follow, and they cannot be sure that its company would be more to their benefit than to their injury. Their safest plan, then, is to leave the corpse intact on the spot where the departed breathed his last, trusting that the ghost will not forsake the vicinity of the body

in which it lately resided : *tumulum circumvolat umbra*. The burial rite, if we may call it so, of these Mushéras is on a par with that of the Veddahs of Ceylon, of whom it has been written that, "they do not even bury their dead, but cover them "over with leaves and brushwood in the jungle."\*

Mushéras of the Son valley proper have a ceremony almost as rude. They simply throw the corpse into the river or its nearest tributary. The body floats in the water and is carried out of sight, until at last perhaps it may reach the Ganges; which river is regarded by many of the Kol tribes with a respect equal to that paid to the Son. The custom of river-burial is exemplified in what Dr. Oldham has recorded of a Savari woman whom he accidentally met with in the Ghazipur district. Her husband had died on the march, and she had carried his bones in a sack for over a hundred miles, in order to throw them into the Ganges. † Water burial must be a very ancient custom in the Mushéra tribe; for this, according to the legend, was the way in which the corpse of Deosi himself, the reputed founder of the tribe, was disposed of. When Sanwarjit, the son of Sanwar, had shot him dead with an arrow, a discussion arose as to what they (the conquerors) should do with the body. They at first thought of simply leaving it on the spot where he died; but afterwards decided that his ghost would be better pleased, or would flit away to a safer distance from themselves if the body were thrown into the Ganges. So the corpse was dragged to the river and thrown into it.

Mushéras of the Kalwári forest have retained the water ceremony, but have made some approach towards cremation also. They carry the body to the river bank, and having washed it in river water, tie a cloth made of cotton or of deodár bark fibre round the loins. The corpse is then laid on the ground, with its face upwards, and the head towards the north, the region of Indra, to which it is hoped that the soul will take its flight. The spot on which the head and feet were laid is marked off for the purpose of paying future obsequies. The son of the deceased, or if there is no son, his brother or brother's son or other male relative next of kin, then takes a handful of straw (rice-straw if possible), and placing it on the face of the dead body, sets fire to it. The face is merely singed; but it has had the contact of fire, the great purifying element, so much used in all parts of the world in lustral ceremonies. The chief mourner then takes the body by the feet, and using all his strength, throws it into the river. In this simple rite we see the germs of the Hindu ceremony of cremation followed by that of immersion—

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\* Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon, Vol II, p. 422.

† Dr. Oldham's Memoirs of the Ghazipur district, p. 50.



a rite in which the Vedic custom of cremation and the indigenous custom of water-burial appear to have met each other from opposite directions—thus giving rise to the composite ceremony which Hindus now practice. Among Mushéras, as amongst Hindus, the contact of fire is interdicted to persons who have died of small-pox: for small-pox is believed to be of the same substance with Sitalá, the goddess who presides over this dreaded malady, and it is thought that by burning such a corpse they will be burning or otherwise offending the goddess herself. The same interdict applies to persons who have died of cholera, and for similar reasons.

Mushéras of Pipri and the surrounding country practise a rite in which earth sepulture is the leading characteristic, but qualified by some show of water-burial and cremation: and this composite rite, as far as I can learn, is of frequent practise among Dehati or village Mushéras, wherever they may be found. The body, as above, is washed in river water, and the loins are bound round with a cloth of cotton or deodár bark fibre, and fire fed with rice-straw is put in the face. The corpse, however, instead of being thrown into the river, as in the preceding rite, is deposited by the chief mourner in a tomb about two yards long and one broad, the earth having been excavated for this purpose with the tribal tool, the *gahdála*. The face, as above, is placed towards the north. If the deceased was a man, the body is laid on the right side of the tomb; if a woman, on the left. On enquiring the reason of this distinction, I was told that man and woman were originally a single body, just as now man and wife are one flesh, and that the right or stronger half belonged to the male, and the left or inferior to the female; it was further explained that when the two halves split asunder, each half became a whole and perfect body, one a complete man, and the other a complete woman, and that the primeval pair thus formed were the first ancestors of mankind. The reader will observe the curious parallel which this explanation presents to the Biblical description of the process by which Eve was formed out of a rib of Adam taken from his left side while he was asleep. It bears an indirect testimony, too, to the value attached by the Kol tribes to the monagamous principle, on which we have already dwelt. It is further exemplified by the popular Hindu representation of *ardhàng rup*, the half-limbed figure, in which Mahadev and Parbatí (the two divinities whose mutual attachment as man and wife is the theme on every tongue) are brought on the Hindu stage as a single body. A kind of curtain is suspended down the middle of the nose and reaching to the feet, by which the entire body is divided into two equal parts. On the right side is a half figure of Mahadev with snakes

for his hair, a moon drawn on his forehead, a snake round his neck, ashes on his face and skin, &c., while on the left side is a half figure of his wife, Parbati, dressed out in contrast as a handsome and attractive woman, and bedecked with jewels and ornaments.\*

One more burial rite remains to be told, being a development from the one last described, and, like this last, frequently practised by village Museras. They leave the corpse in the ground for six months after sepulture, committing it to the care of their guardian goddess, Banaspati; at the close of the six months the remains are taken out of the earth and burnt, and the ashes are thrown into the river. The cremation ceremony that is now performed is called lakhari. Some of the lowest castes of Hindus,—those that are still halting between the custom of earth-sepulture, handed down from their ancestors, and the rite of cremation as taught and practised by Brahmans,—adopt a similar compromise, burying the corpse in the earth for the first six months and then disinterring and burning what remains of it. Those tribes or families who practise this ambiguous rite commit the body during the six months of sepulture to the care of the earth-goddess, Bhuiyan, (so commonly worshipped by the lower castes), just as Museras commit it to the forest-goddess, Banaspati, Bansatti, Bansuri, or Bandevi.

The conclusion suggested by a review of the above varieties is that water-burial and earth-sepulture were both practised by the indigenous races before Brahmanism had come into existence, some tribes preferring the one and some the other, while cremation was of purely Brahmanical origin. No respectable Hindu caste will bury its dead in the earth; for not only is the earth considered an impure element, but earth-burial has now become one of the badges of distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans. There is scarcely any Hindu caste, however, which will object to water-burial, when cremation cannot be carried out; and even after cremation the ashes are invariably thrown upon rivers. For water, in the teaching of Brahmans, is next to fire, the purest and most sacred of the elements.

When the corpse has been disposed of according to the mode of burial preferred by each sub-tribe, section, or family, something has yet to be done to pacify the departed spirit and help it on its way to another world. To this subject we now turn. Museras of Singrauli do nothing in this direction. Having left the corpse on the spot where the man or woman

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\* Sometimes, too, in the stone images graven in honor of Mahadev and Parbati, the two are made a single body, the right half going to Mahadev and the left to Parbati,



died, they go away (as we have shewn) to some other place, trusting that, as they take no relic of the deceased with them, the ghost will not follow. All other Museras are careful to perform obsequies to the dead; but the nature of the obsequies varies according to the mode in which the corpse is disposed of.

Museras of the Son valley (who dispose of the corpse by simply throwing it into the river), make an offering of food and water every day, for some nine days in succession, at the foot of a deodár tree,—the nearest one they can find to the spot from which the body was thrown. The soul of the dead is believed to reside in this tree, so long as the obsequies are continued; and from this tree the ghost descends to receive the offerings. The offerings are usually made at midday and are presented by the chief mourner, that is, by the man who threw the corpse into the river. They consist generally of cooked rice mixed with honey, the flesh of tortoise, and the eggs of tortoise, the flesh of the *goh* or lizard, the flesh of the *sáhi* or porcupine, the flesh of the boar, the flesh of the *kekra* or river crab,—all kinds of flesh in fact which the man or woman while living considered a luxury. Different offerings are presented on different days; not all at once.

Museras of the Kalwári jungle (who before throwing the corpse into the river lay it decently out, cover the loins with cloth, place the head towards the north, and put fire in the face) perform the same kind of obsequies as the preceding, but with more system and formality. Instead of presenting the offerings at the foot of a deodár tree, they present them at the spot on which the body was laid out before it was thrown into the river. For the first four days the offerings are laid at the *south* end of the spot,—that at which the feet of the deceased were laid—and the offerings during these days consist of rice-beer, rice-pancakes mixed with honey, the flesh of tortoise, and the eggs of tortoise. At the time of presenting the offerings, the mourner repeats the following words, all in the Musera language:—

*Timro, hutmu, Indra hadariya potis,  
Boglo magno pokpá bahru bal.*

“Come, O dead one, from the palace of Indra, come and eat “the food of this world, take it and return (to thy palace).” The offerings remain for some time at the spot where they are laid; after which the mourner removes them to his own cave or resting place (in which he is forced to live apart during the continuance of these rites), cooks the flesh and rice, throws one mouthful on the fire for the dead, addressing him again in the same words, and then takes his own meal of

what remains. From the 5th to the 8th day the same process is repeated; but the offerings during these days are placed on the *west* side of the spot, the diet remaining the same as during the four days preceding. On the 9th day the offerings are placed on the *north* side, that is, the part where the head of the deceased was laid, and the flesh diet is now changed from tortoise to crab. This is continued till the 12th day. On the 13th day the offerings are placed on the *east* side and the flesh diet is changed from crab to porcupine. This is continued for one day more. On the 15th day the mourner goes no more to the spot, but after being shaved re-visits his family, who then with the Pathári or tribal priest solemnize "a feast of the dead" consisting chiefly of rice-beer and hogs' flesh, the choicest of all diets to a Mushéra, whether dead or alive.

Mushéras of Pipri and the surrounding country (who practise earth sepulture in combination with water-burial and cremation) perform the same rites in all essential respects as the preceding, with only one difference. Here, there is an actual tomb, and not merely a piece of ground roughly marked off on which the body was temporarily laid before it was thrown into the river. On the first day a flag is fixed at the foot of the grave, that is, at the south end, where the feet of the dead are placed. On the fifth day a second flag is fixed on the west side; on the 10th day a third is fixed on the north side, that is, at the head of the body; and on the 13th day, a fourth is fixed on the east side. These four flags are not removed, and they serve to mark the spot where the body is laid as a vantage ground for future offerings to be paid periodically in the course of the year following the burial.

Some account must now be given of the means employed by the chief mourner for purifying himself from the contagion of death or (to speak more correctly) from the evil spirits who flit about a corpse. Having paid all the offerings due to the dead, he is at liberty to consider what is due to himself, and to take steps for rendering himself fit for re-admission to his family from whom, up till now, he has been compelled to live apart as unclean, remaining in some hole or corner, or under some tree, and subsisting on what remained from the offerings paid each day to the dead. Those Mushéras, who simply leave the corpse in the jungle and perform no obsequies to the dead, do not require and do not undergo any purifying rite. But the case is different with those who have touched and handled the corpse, either by throwing it into the river or washing it with the river water, or binding it round with cloth, or putting fire to its face, or burying it in the earth, and who have continued ever since in close proximity to the abode of death in order to pay the customary offerings.



The first purifying rite consists in shaving the head, or the head and face,—a practice to which a large number of parallels could be adduced, if necessary, from many different races. The shaving must be performed, not by the mourner himself, but by the brother of his mother, or by some son of that brother, or by the husband of his mother's sister, or by some son of his mother's sister. When the shaving has been completed, the shaved man and his shaver boil some strips of bark torn from an ásan or deodár tree, and after straining off the fibre wash their face and body in the sacred water. He is then at last fit to re-enter the family cave or hut. After he has been thus re-admitted, a further ceremony, as described below, is performed by a Pathári or tribal priest, or if no Pathári can be found, by the son or husband of the chief mourner's sister, or by the son or husband of his father's sister. The Pathári or his substitute recites the following lines (all in the Mushéra language), in praise of the dead :—

*Utram kuiya jigdar berlis huiya hutma ku,  
Taulis Indra hadaria hutmu utram kuiya kuiya jigdar ku ;  
Taulis Indra madariya hutmu chimlan tiplan kero ku  
Imlis Indra madar hit birmis potis hutmu timran bhu  
Tiplo hutmu Indra madar potis mahar magnu potis timran bhu  
Tiplo Indra madar hutmu potis hit timran bhu  
Bhuiya miglin kuiya ku  
Utram kuiya berlis jigdar huiya hutmu ku.*

“ Having performed the obsequies to the dead, the son has dismissed his own ; hurrah. The dead has gone to the palace of Indra : the son has performed the obsequies ; hurrah. The dead has gone to the court of Indra, and beholds the dances of the heavenly dancing girls. The King Indra enquires, From what place, O dead one, has thou come hither ? The dead one answers, I have come, O king from the world below. The king says to the dead, Thou hast come hither, thou hast done well ; hurrah ! The son having performed the obsequies has dismissed his own : hurrah ! ” When these words are finished, the mourner touches the ground with his forehead before the Pathári or his substitute in acknowledgment of the blessing paid to the departed one.

Then lastly comes “ the feast of the dead,” which (as we stated a page or two back) takes place on the 15th day, at the close of the long series of offerings paid during the 14 days previous. As the chief mourner through whom the offerings were paid is now pure, and has been re-introduced into the family cave or hut, he is an important guest in this banquet. Another honoured guest in the same feast is the Pathári, or in the absence of a Pathári, the male relative or connection who acted as his substitute. Another honoured guest is the

bard or reciter, called Panwáriya, who, if the family can afford the cost, is usually invited at such times to relate or sing the national legends in connection with the exploits of Makará "the Kol Chenrá or Chandér" and of his valiant son, Deosi, who after founding the Mushéra tribe and completing his career on earth, ascended into the palace of Indra. But the most honoured guest at these feasts is one whose presence, though not visible to the eyes, is real to the mind's eye of the banqueters—the ghost of the departed one himself. If the ghost has been admitted, as they hope, into the Court of Indra, it comes down to smell the effluvia of roast pork and rice-beer presented in its honour. If, on the other hand, it has not gone to Indra, but has been detained in the lower regions of the air, it is much gratified by this family banquet, and is less likely to become a persecuting goblin.\*

In our account of the above rites, we have described them as they are performed for a married man. For a married woman they are not quite the same in certain details; and for boys or girls who die unmarried the ceremonies of every kind are of a much lighter nature. For a married woman the daily offerings, made between the day of the death and that of the final funeral feast, are continued for nine days only, whereas for a man they are continued for 14 days. The explanation given is that the woman carries the child for 9 months before it is born, whereas the father keeps his son with him for 14 or 15 years, that is, till he is old enough to marry and go out and maintain himself independently in the forest. In some parts the period of mourning for a married woman is extended from 9 days to 12; and the explanation then is that 3 more days are added in recognition of three days of weakness and suffering attending child-birth. Thus, in the case of the married woman,

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\* The following example of an immense funeral banquet given on the burial day of the Duke of Norfolk in 1554 is worth quoting as a specimen of what "a feast to the dead" could be only some three centuries ago in England:—

The 1st day of October 1554 was buried the Noble Duke of Norfolk at a place called Fremynghame Church, and there was a goodly hearse of of wax as I have seen in these days, with a dozen of banner rolls of the progeny (that is, ancestral descent), 12 dozen of penselles, 12 dozen scochyons and with standards and 52 coats-of-arms and a banner of damask and 3 banners of images and many mourners, and a great dole, and after great dinner (for the furnishing of which dinner were killed 40 great oxen and 100 sheep and 60 calves, besides venison, swans and cranes, capon, rabbits, pigeons, pikes and other provisions both flesh and fish.) There were also great plenty of wine and of bread and beer, as great plenty as had ever been known, both for rich and poor: all the country came thither, and a great dole of money there were bestowed upon the poorer sort. —

(Extract from diary of Henry Maclyn, Citizen of London: quoted in *Quarterly Review*, April 1887.)



the final "feast of the dead" which closes the days of mourning, takes place either on the 10th or the 13th day ; while that for a man takes place on the 15th day. Again, there is a distinction as to the amount of hair to be shorn off, before the mourner can be considered pure enough to be re-admitted into his family. If the deceased was a man, it is necessary that he should be relieved of his beard and whiskers as well as of the hair of his head. If the deceased was a woman, it is enough that he should part company with the hair of his head only : for, as a woman has no beard and whiskers, there is no need (they think) to have such appendages shorn off on her account.

All that now remains to be said regarding the funeral rites is that in some parts, or wherever the family can bear the cost, the worship of the dead does not cease with the final funeral feast held on the 10th, 13th or 15th day, but is continued periodically in the year following. The rule generally observed is to make an offering once a quarter ;—at the close of the first quarter, the same offerings as those given in the first and three following days after the death ; at the close of the second quarter, the same as those given on the 5th and four following days ; at the close of the third quarter, the same as that given on the 10th and two following days ; at the close of the fourth quarter, the same as that given on the 13th and 14th days. These offerings are made at the four flags in succession, each quarterly offering at its appropriate flag, as was shown above.

We turn now to the ceremonies connected with the birth and naming of children. To understand the foundation and meaning of the lustral rites connected with birth, it should be understood that, according to the belief universally prevalent in India, among all tribes and castes alike, whether Brahmanized or not, and among all classes of Mahammedans also, the air is peopled with innumerable unseen spirits, (called in India *bhuts* or *prets*), which are ready at all times to attack the living, and especially at times of child-birth, when the tender age of the child and the weakened state of the mother render them most open to attack. As Milton has said :—

*Millions of spiritual beings walk the earth,  
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep.*

To protect the child in the earliest days of infancy, and give it a better equipment for combating the arts of evil spirits in after life, spells, talismans, incantations, exorcisms, purifying rites, and propitiatory offerings are the means employed by the head of the family, or by the priest, whom he engages. Wherever the belief in spirits prevails, there we may be certain of finding the practise of baptismal rites, which in the early stages of culture, are directed merely to the expulsion of evil

spirits, and in the higher to the removal of the birth-sin which has been inherited from our first parents.

I am not able to distinguish, as I have done in the case of marriages and burials, between the baptismal rites observed in different localities or in different sections of the tribe.

As soon as labour commences, a fire is lighted near the woman and kept burning till the labour is over. Into this fire rice-grain and rice-straw are immediately thrown; and as soon as the child is born, its body is gently rubbed over with the ashes by the woman who acts as midwife, *viz.*, the child's paternal aunt. The cord, as soon as it is cut, is put with the after-birth into another fire kept burning at the door of the hut or cave; a curious analogy to which is furnished in certain Irish folk sayings current at the present day, in one of which it is said that "an after-birth must be burned to preserve the child from the fairies," the fairies being in this instance evil-hearted goblins, whose propensities are the same as those of Indian *bhuts*.\* The hair of a bear and a slip of wood torn from an *asán* or *deodàr* tree are kept inside the hut, so long as the woman and child remain there. For one whole day and night at least a peacock's feather is dropped occasionally into the fire, which is still kept burning at the mouth of the hut. From the second to the tenth day, if the child is a male, or to the fifteenth if it is a female, some powder of the burnt *chiraunji* nut is rubbed occasionally on its body; the longer period being deemed necessary for the female on account of its power of resistance to malignant spirits being considered less. When all these ceremonies are completed, the mother and child have a final purifying bath in water mixed with the ashes of rice-straw.

Sometimes, however, these ceremonies, owing to the absence of material or want of preparation, are not carried out in their entirety, and there are some families which are less careful in these matters. If the woman prefers to get up and go about as usual, as soon as the child is born, she can do so. But she takes care to carry a lighted brand with her wherever she goes, for some ten days at least, after which the fire brand is discarded, and the mother and child undergo a final bath as above.

The ceremony, then, whether carried out in the complete or incomplete form, is in the main a mode of baptism by fire combined with baptism by water; but greater efficacy is evidently ascribed to the former, since fire is the element used at the time of parturition, when the child and mother are in the greatest danger from the goblins. The selection of rice-straw and rice-grain, with the burnt ashes of which the child is rubbed

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\* Folk Lore Record, Vol., IV., p 104 (Notes on Irish Folk Lore),



immediately after its birth, needs no explanation beyond what has been stated already regarding the sanctity attaching to this grain in the estimation of the Kol tribes. The feathers of a peacock as a talisman against evil spirits are much appreciated by Hindus, who, in this matter, have perhaps been borrowers from the Kols. \* Great importance is attached to having the bone of a bear in the room : for by this means it is hoped that the child will be protected, to some extent at least, against an animal of which Museras have most reason to be jealous or afraid on account of its skill in climbing trees and rocks and prying into the caves and crannies, where Museras dwell, and digging roots out of the ground with its claws. It lives as Museras do, on vegetable products, wild figs, wild plums, the flower of the mahwa tree, edible roots, &c, and is clever at finding wild honey, which it devours with avidity. It is therefore the Museras' worst rival ; and is sometimes believed to be the body, in which men or women, unable after death to take their flight into the mansions of Indra, are born again.

*Quæ gratia currum  
 Armorumque fuit vivis., quæ cura nitentes  
 Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.--Æn. VI.*

Many of the hill tribes of Central India hunt and eat the bear. But Museras, for the reason given, abstain from doing so.

By way of shewing the nature of baptismal rites as practised by a people, who in other respects stand on a much higher level of culture than Museras, yet in regard to baptism and its objects hold substantially the same view, we will quote a few extracts from an account of the Chinese ceremony given by a recent eye witness :—"On the day of birth, a basin containing lighted candles and incense sticks is placed beneath the bed. Pummelo leaves and slips of a fragrant thorn are suspended over the door to ward off evil spirits. . . . On the third morning the god of the bed is worshipped, and offerings of vinegar and eggs dyed red are made. On this day the Taoist priest, entering the house, passes into the hall, bed-room, and kitchen, bearing a piece of the plant known as wai ts'o, and a bowl of clean water, with which he sprinkles the rooms, chanting at the same time certain liturgies. This ceremony

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\* The peacock is a snake-eater ; hence in Sanskrit called *bhujāngabhuj*. But evil spirits take the form of snakes, and hence snakes are much dreaded at the time of child-birth. The peacock has acquired additional prominence as a snake killer in the eyes of Hindus, because it is the vehicle of Swyam Kārtika, the brother of Ganesh, and son of Mahadeb ; and Swyam-Kartika was distinguished as the destroyer of Rakhshasas or evil demons. Exorcists or medicine men in India make much use of peacock's feathers in their ceremonies for the expulsion of evil spirits from the bodies of the possessed.

"is known as the purification. . . . To prevent the child being borne off by demons, a fisherman's net is sometimes spread over the opening in the mosquito curtains. . . . A curious custom prevails in Canton known as 'singeing the little pig'; this is effected by passing the child several times over a fire of charcoal, &c. The rite of singeing the little pig, as the Chinese term it, presents a curious parallel to what was practised in Scotland for several centuries after the Christian rite of baptism had superseded the pagan one. On their return from church "they take the newly baptised infant, and vibrate it gently three or four times over a flame, saying thrice, Let the flame consume thee now or never." \*

Mushéras of the plains have not, in all cases, retained the same baptismal rite as those in the hills. They still light a fire against the mother at the time of labour, keep a fire burning at the mouth of the hut, and place much reliance on the feathers of a peacock. But they do not keep the bone of a bear inside the hut; for bears are no longer to be found in their wild state in the plains of India, and hence they are not feared as rivals; and instead of washing the mother and child with water mixed with the ashes of rice-straw, they have, in many places, adopted the custom followed by some of the lowest castes in Indian villages, of rubbing the body of the mother and child with wine. As parallels to such washings, we may quote the Burmese custom, by which the head of the infant is bathed in a decoction of the soap acacia, and the Figian custom, by which for fourteen days at least after birth "the mother and child are covered from head to foot with turmeric, with which their clothes are also smeared: a precaution," (as the Scotch authoress explains), "against the devices of certain evil spirits, of whom many of the converts still stand in as great awe as many a devout old Highlander does of the bogies and warlocks of our own mountains."†

For the naming of a *male* child the following customs are

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\* (Folk Lore Journal.) July and September 1887, pp.224—5. Brand's Popular Antiquities, p. 338, Edit. 1877. The following extract from an old English writer, who lived in A. D. 1660, and described the survivals of heathenism, shew what the people really thought about baptism before and after the Christian rite was established :—"Exorcisms were used by the ancients on persons to be baptised, whereby they adjured the Devils to go out of the person to be baptised, and took on them to blow out the evil spirit, that the Holy Spirit might be admitted." Quoted in p. 131 of Remains of Gentilisme and Judaisme by J. Aubrey, R. S. S., London 1881. In the earliest edition of the Prayer Book, (if I remember right), the words spoken by the priest at the time of baptism are :—"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I exorcise thee, O evil spirit, and command thee to come out of this child."

† Forbes' British Burma, edit. 1878, p. 67. At Home in Fiji, edit. 1881, by Mrs. Gordon Cumming, Vol II, p. 124.



observed. On the day fixed for the naming a sacrifice is offered to Barké Bába, "the grandfather," viz., Deosi, the founder of the tribe. Two names are given; one being the name of some Devi, or rather a name selected from among the numerous titles by which the Devi or indigenous goddess is known, such as Banjári, Nikundi, Bahiyá, Britiya, Mohani, Ránkini, &c. The other name is taken from the tree, near or under which the child was born, or from some hill near which, or on which the family reside. Thus, if a male child is born under a jigan tree, it is called Jignu. Possibly in this custom we may see the germ of totemism on the male side, which, though undeveloped among Museras so far as I can discover, is found among certain other Kol tribes in Chutia Nagpur.

The name given to a daughter is fixed by the mother, according to her own fancy. There is no ceremony of any kind attending the giving of the name, and no rule regulating the selection. The following are among the names commonly given to females: Birmi, Mughni, Ghanni, Kumáni, Jajiyá. But I am unable to trace their meaning.

#### IV.

The religion of Museras, to which several allusions have incidentally been made already, consists in the veneration of natural objects, human souls, and divine spirits. The foundation of all is the belief in the survival and separate existence of the individual human soul after it has parted from the body.\* Hence arises the worship of deified ancestors. Hence life and personality are imputed to inanimate things, which, if they strike the mind of the observer with any unusual sentiment of awe, terror, love or gratitude, are regarded as deities and sometimes propitiated with offerings. Hence Devas, or

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\* That the belief in the separate existence of the human soul is at the bottom of all these notions has been well shewn by the late Captain Forbes in his account of the Karens of British Burma, p. 272-3 of *British Burma*. "The most important point is that which teaches the existence of a soul or spirit in every object, animate and inanimate, in the most insignificant and the mightiest in nature, \* \* \* \* \* Not only animals, trees and plants have their separate and individual "kalás" (souls), but spears, knives, arrows, stones, &c. It would seem to be simple self or individuality, the ego of the metaphysicians, \* \* \* \* \* The kalá is constantly in the habit of wandering forth from its body, and its continued absence would cause death. This idea gives rise to further beliefs in *therets* or spirits, who lie in wait to seize and devour these errant "kalás;" and in the "wees" or sorcerers, who have the power of summoning back the wanderers even from the land of shadows." It will be seen below that Museras have the same belief in the spirit or soul residing in inanimate objects; the same belief in "therets" or evil spirits wandering about in the air; and the same belief in sorcerers to keep them under proper control.

divine spirits, conceived after the pattern of human souls, have been placed in command of certain departments of nature after which they are usually called.

Among the objects held sacred by the Mushéra tribe are rice-grain, certain trees, such as the deodár, ásan, mahwá, bamboo, &c., fire, rivers, and the tribal tool (gahdála). To these we must add the place known in their legends as the fort of Pipri, where buffaloes are still sacrificed by the present owner, a Chattri of the Gharwár clan, in memory of the Chander or Cheru heroes, the first occupants of the site, and the ancestors of Mushéras.

Of the sanctity attached to rice-grain, examples have been given already. In the marriage rites, as we have seen, the union of youth and maid is effected by their eating rice-paste or gruel together. In the baptismal rite the new-born babe is rubbed over with the ashes of rice-grain and rice-straw. In the burial rites fire, fed with rice-straw, is applied to the face of the corpse, and rice pancakes smeared over with honey are given as food offerings to the souls of the dead. There is scarcely any kind of food cooked by others than themselves, which Mushéras will not eat. Yet an exception is usually made of rice, which must be cooked at their own fire and no other. \* Some families are so punctilious in regard to the sanctity of cooked rice, that if the shadow of an outsider passes across this food, they consider it polluted and not fit to be eaten.

The trees most venerated by the hillmen of the tribe are the deodár, in which the souls of the dead reside, while offerings are being paid to them; the ásan, on which the tussar worm is fed under the special guardianship of their goddess-mother, Banaspati; the bamboo whose clump is believed to be the shrine of the same great goddess at the time of her periodical worship; the mahwá, wild fig, and chiraunji, whose flower, fruit, and nut respectively are much valued as food; and the mahul tree, from the broad leaves of which they manufacture plates and cups. † They make libations of water at the foot of the deodar tree, as the reader will recollect, because the dead man's soul is believed to enter this tree

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\* Similarly of the Santals, Colonel Dalton says:—"They are not over particular about food; but nothing will induce them to eat rice cooked by a Hindu, even by a Brahman."—*Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 214. The Santals were originally Khairwárs, and therefore closely related to the Mushéras.

† On Tree Worship by other hill tribes, compare what Colonel Dalton says of the worship of the Mukmum by the Malers. (*Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 288), the Karm by Oraons, p. 260, and the Mahwá by several tribes.



immediately after death. But they are not quite sure that the soul ever leaves it: hence the deodar and the deceased are sometimes regarded as one. In fact the deodar is to Mushéras what the pipal is to Hindus; and though they will cut its bark for the sake of the fibre, which they weave into aprons, they abstain from cutting down the tree itself or doing it further injury.

Mushéras in the plains, having no deodar to look to, have transferred their allegiance to the pipal, the *ficus religiosa* of the Hindus. They have also acquired the Hindu reverence for the datura and marigold plants, both sacred to Mahadev, whom they designate, however, as Bhairon, and for the tulsi plant, sacred to Vishnu, of whose history and attributes, however, they know nothing. I have seen a Mushéra hamlet in which these plants had been carefully reared round a clay lingum in honour of Bhairon, and two broken figures of an elephant intended to represent Kali, whom the people of the hamlet were beginning to place on a par with Banaspati herself. Thus, by a few slight changes, the Mushéra creed is brought into the same groove with that of Hindus.

Fire is the most sacred of elements, and is used (as we have seen) in preference to water for expelling malignant spirits at the time of child-birth, and thus preventing them from entering into the body of the babe, or exchanging it for some imp of their own. Great sanctity, too, is ascribed to fire at the time of lighting a brick-kiln, where the Banmanush or "Man of the Forest," summoned for this duty from his rude hut or hamlet outside the village, extracts pure and new fire in honour of Banaspati by the friction of wood on wood. The mental attitude of the savage at such times is on the same level with that of the Arya fire-priest of the Vedic age, who sang the praises of the fire-god, Agni, as he twirled a hard stick in the groove of a softer one:—"Let us bring this mother of the people; let us rub out this Agni, as was done by the men of old." Here the aboriginal creed finds touch with ancient as well as with modern Hinduism: for the Vedic rite, to which we have just alluded, is reproduced at the present day by Brahmans of the Agnihotri class, who in kindling a new fire to their family gods use the same process, and regard the sudden outburst of the flame with the same sense of awe, as does the Mushéra savage in kindling a brick kiln to his tribal goddess.

Mushéras and their congeners have great respect for rivers. The reader will remember the anecdote of the Savari woman, who carried her husband's bones for over 100 miles in order to throw them into the Ganges; and how Mushéras of almost every class wash the bodies of the dead in river water before they bury them in the earth, and how some Mushéras dispense with

earth sepulture altogether by throwing corpses at once into rivers. In fact no burial of any kind, not even that of earth sepulture takes place except on the bank of a river. The Son with its tributaries is the sacred stream of Mushéras, as the Koel is to Kharrias and the Damudar to Santáls. "Nature-worship," says Mr. Tylor, "reaches its climax among the Bodo and Dimal tribes of the north-east of India, to whom the local rivers "are the local deities, so that men worship according to their "watersheds, and the map is a pantheon." \* Thus river-worship is indigenous to North-Eastern as well as to Central India; and there is little reason to doubt that the river-worship now so prevalent among all classes of Hindus in the great Gangetic plain, took its rise from the indigenous tribes who dwelt there before the advent of the Aryas or their descendants. † These indigenous tribes still form, as I think, the bulk of the inhabitants of the plains of Upper India, although now they can scarcely be recognized under the multiplicity of castes into which, by the influence of Brahmanical teaching and example, they have been gradually distributed and transformed.

The tribal tool (the *gadhála*) receives a more specific worship than any of the objects above named; and this, by village Mushéras even more markedly than by hillmen. On the night of the Diwáli, (the annual festival of lights when every Hindu caste pays worship to the tool, instrument, or symbol by which it lives), every Mushéra family does homage to the great tribal tool as to a divine and conscious being. The headman or eldest male member of the household acts as priest or leader to the rest. A large leaf-plate or mat is laid on the floor of the hut made of dhák leaves, about a foot broad and five and a half long, so that it may be large enough to receive the entire breadth and length of the *gadhála*. The instrument is laid upon this leaf-altar, where it is covered with wild flowers or with chaplets of flowers, such as are placed by Hindus over the stone symbol of Mahadev and over the heads and necks of their idols. In front of the tool thus garlanded, a piece of ground is smeared with river water. On that purified spot the chief worshipper takes his seat, lights the Diwáli lamp,

\* Primitive Culture, vol. II 193. Edit. 1871. Colonel Dalton says of the Damudar, that it is "the terrestrial object most venerated by the Santals." —Ethnology of Bengal, p. 208.

† I am aware that there is one hymn in the Rig Veda, devoted to the praise of the river-systems of the Panjab and of the Gangetic valley. But the allusion to the Ganges shew that the hymn is not among the most ancient in the collection; and it must be remembered that the Aryas had by that time become Indo-Aryans, that is, had become very much changed by intermixture with aboriginal blood. It is well known that the author of one of the Vedic hymns was the son of an aboriginal woman by a man who called himself an Arya.



and propitiates the instrument with offerings of roots, fruits, and leaves brought fresh from the jungle, and with the roasted flesh of the *goh* or lizard. He then addresses his unconscious deity with the following hymn, the words of which are in a rough form of Hindi :—

*Deosi ke sanghatiyā ho samai kardīn  
Tu bhal bhayo sanghatiyā ho jo jo un kīn  
Tuhren to manusaiya se sab kuchh un kīn  
Sakal banā ke biraiyā ho tuh hīn diheyo chīnh  
Sabhī bhāntī ke ahirwan kar tuhin jīb līn  
Waisai morē sanghatiyā ho mohkā dē chīnh.*

“O friend to Deosi, thou didst every work for him. Thou wast a good friend to him in all that he did. He did all things by thy might alone. By thee he learnt to distinguish all the plants of the forest. By thee he took the life of every kind of Ahir. So be thou a friend to me also, and enable me to distinguish (the forest plants.)” On the completion of this address every member of the household bows his head to the earth before the tool; and all partake of the flesh of the lizard slain and roasted in its honor. If the tool were not thus worshipped, it would fail them (as they think) in the search for drugs, roots, snakes, &c., for the following year.

The place most sacred to Mushéras, as the reader already knows, is the fort of Pipri, or rather the site on which the original fort once stood, when Makará, the Kol Chander and father of Deosi, was king of the fort and the surrounding country. In our account of the origin of the Mushéra tribe we have already shewn how Lorik the Ahir defeated and slew Makará and ploughed up the site of Pipri with asses, and how Mushéras still attempt to re-occupy it, but are prevented by their old enemies, the Ahirs. But it frequently happens in India that a spot renowned in ancient fable or story gathers to itself after a time a new set of legends which gradually replace the old ones and send them into oblivion.\* This has been the case with Pipri. It is only amongst Ahirs and Mushéras, and not amongst them universally, that the original traditions connected with Pipri have survived. The very name “Pipri” has been

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\* As a parallel to this we may refer to the tomb of Sayyad Salar, near Bahraich, in the north of Oudh. This was originally a temple called Bálárk, signifying the Infant Sun, to which Hindus in pre-Mahomedan times used to resort as a cure for blindness. Of the reality of this fact there can be no doubt. For the event is related in the family records of the Bhinga Rajas, by whom this Sun Temple was built; and there can be scarcely any doubt that the town Bahraich has been called after Bálárk. But all is now changed. The old history of Bálárk, like the old story of Pipri, has been forgotten by the masses; and the story of Sayyad Salar, the Mahomedan freebooter, who attacked Bahraich and was buried in Bálárk, has taken its place.

superseded by "Saktisgarh," and a new fort has sprung up in the place of the old. The new legends which have now become current are thus described in the *Government Gazetteer*.\* "The "Saktisgarh village is only interesting from its connection with "the fort of Sakat Singh, erected by him to control the Kols "in the reign of Akbar. . . . . Around this fort there is a considerable *enceinte*, enclosed on two sides by projecting hills, and "towards the plain by a rampart and ditch, which must have "formed a refuge for the neighbourhood in times of invasion. "But in these quiet days there is nothing left in the whole area "but a few small huts and the foundations of a small sanctuary. The building has a legend connected with it. It is "related that the spot first chosen for the fort was in inconvenient proximity to a cave, where dwelt a hermit of peculiar "sanctity named Sidh Nath. The holy man, perceiving the "commencement of preparations, threatened to bring a curse "upon both builder and building, unless he were left in peace, "and the present site which he pointed out, chosen. Sakat "Singh, in agreeing, begged the saint to take the fort under "his protection and to reside within its precincts. The hermit, "however, while blessing the undertaking, declined to move, "but permitted his brother, Bhúpat Nath, to go and live there, "and it was for him that the sanctuary was built. There is "another curious superstition connected with the fort. The "members of the Gaharwar chief's family invariably slaughter "a buffalo at the outer gate on the occasion of their first "entry into the fort. The story to which this refers is of "an unsuccessful attempt to take the fort by an aboriginal "chieftain named Mohan Badi. Mohan was killed in the "attempt; but his spirit, a very malevolent ghost, continued "to haunt the place. The holy Sidh Nath exorcised the "intruder by the sacrifice referred to, and the custom has "been kept up till the present day." It is not difficult to detect in these modern legends certain marks of continuity with those of the more ancient date. The Kols, who required to be "controlled in the reign of Akbar," may well have been Mushéras still fighting with Ahirs: for in the adjoining plains of the Mirzapore and Benares Districts, those who are recorded as Kols in the Census Reports are undistinguishable from Mushéras, and sometimes the Mushéras of that locality are even called by the name of Kol. Again, "the aboriginal "chief, who tried to take the fort, but was killed in the "attempt," and whose ghost haunted the place for some time afterwards, may have well been a Mushéra, or at least a chief with a large following of Mushéras. The buffalo sacrifice

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\* See. p. 223, of *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. XIV. 1883.



which the Gharwar Chattri chief, who now owns the fort, has still to perform on making his first entry into it, was, and still is, peculiarly an institution of the Kol tribes of Chander and Khairwar; and the Khairwars I regard as the ancestors of the Chattri clan now known as Gharwar. Such a sacrifice is so entirely opposed to the Hindu religion, that we may be sure no Hindu hermit could have either performed it himself or ordered a Chattri to do so. It would appear, that the Ahirs were eventually driven from the place by some Chattri warrior of the Gharwar clan, who then took possession of it and whose descendants have retained it ever since. The buffalo sacrifice now offered to "an aboriginal chieftain" named Mohan Badi may well be in continuation of the buffalo sacrifices offered to the ghosts of Makara and Deosi, the ancient occupants and rulers of the fort.\*

I may, perhaps, be allowed to make one more digression regarding Pipri before leaving it. Colonel Dalton quotes the following narrative from a Santal, who was explaining to him the half legendary, half mythical, origin of his tribe:—"A wild goose coming from the great ocean alighted at Ahiri-Pipri, and there laid two eggs. From these two eggs a male and female were produced, who were the parents of the Santal race. From Ahiri-Pipri our progenitors migrated to Hara Dutti, and there they greatly increased and multiplied and were called Kharwars. Thence they removed to Khairagarh and Harrud Garhi, and eventually settled in Chai Champá in the Hazaribagh District, where they remained for several generations." Commenting on this, Colonel Dalton remarks:—"I am unable to identify Ahiri-Pipri; but Khairagarh and Chai Champá are in the Hazaribagh District, and to Chai Champá remote Santals, as well as those in this district, frequently allude."† Not even the Santals, however, could tell him where or what Ahiri-Pipri was, or relate any legends concerning it. The "Ahiri-Pipri" of Santal tradition is evidently the Pipri which was captured by the Ahirs under their king Lorik. The Santals, then called by the name of Kharwár, (for Kharwárs were the allies and friends of Cherus in their battles with the Ahirs), must have left Pipri under some leader of their own, after the conquest of the Pipri kingdom by the Ahir, Lorik, just as Mushéras did under their own leader, Deosi; the former going forth into

\* It may be remarked in this place that the Rajah of Tiiohi, in the Rai Bareli district, Oudh, (the second head of the Khanpuria clan of Chattris) sacrifices a buffalo every third year by ancestral custom. Does not this shew to what source we should look for the ancestry of some of the Chattri clans?

† Ethnology of Bengal, p. 209 and 211.

the hills in search of new homes, and the latter descending into the plains.\* When we consider that neither the Santals nor Colonel Dalton, nor the author of the *Government Gazetteer*, from which I quoted in the previous paragraph, knew anything about Pipri, it says much for the toughness of popular tradition that the mystery of "Ahiri-Pipri" should have been first cleared up by a few ignorant Mushéras living far away from the spot in the Partábgarh district, who repeated to me the forgotten history of Lorik and the Ahirs, and that these men should have been able, although they had never seen Pipri or known any one who had seen it, to describe it by tradition and tradition only, as accurately as it is described by an European eye-witness in the *Government Gazetteer*. The old site of Pipri, now called Saktisgarh, is now, as we have seen, in the possession of a Chattri of the Gharwar clan: from which I infer that the Kharwárs or Gharwárs, though banished from the place by the Ahirs, recaptured it some time afterwards, and have held it ever since under a Gharwár Rajah of their own, who still maintains the old Kol custom of the buffalo sacrifice, notwithstanding the status which he now holds as a Hindu Chattri. There is an Ahir tribe called Bhurtiya or Bhurautiya, in the Mirzapur hills, (and the same tribe or another section of it is to be seen in several districts along either side of the Ganges), living with their herds of cows and buffaloes, in the very midst of Cherus, Kharwárs, Savaris, and Mushéras. These Ahirs, isolated as they are from the rest of their tribe, are probably the descendants of those Ahirs who captured Pipri under Lorik, and were afterwards expelled in their turn by the Kharwárs or Gharwárs, the present occupants.

The animals to which some kind of veneration is paid are the monkey by hill Mushéras, and this with the cow by village Mushéras. The monkey is not actually worshipped by them, nor is the cow by Hindus; but its life is considered sacred, and this is saying a good deal; for there are very few animals which the Mushéra in his native hills considers too sacred to be eaten, if he is brave enough to hunt them. The sanctity attached to the cow by village Mushéras is, as the reader already knows, entirely foreign to the original instinct of the tribe. In fact, according to one of the Kol theories of the origin of man, beef was the distinctive food of Kols, vegetables of Brahmans, and goats and fish of Sudras† The aboriginal

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\* The name Santál, according to Santáls themselves, is derived from Saont, a forest, in which they settled for a time after leaving Chai Champa: 'It was from our long sojourn in Saont, that we took the name of Santál: "we were previously called Kharwars."—Colonel Dalton, p. 210.

† Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 185.



tribes in the North India plains appear to have been distinguished into those who did, and those who did not, regard the life of the cow as sacred: and perhaps to many of these tribes the cow was a totem. Brahmanism, in the process of absorbing these tribes, had to choose which side it would take; and it chose that of the cow. Hence all tribes and castes which came within Brahmanical influence had to recognise the sanctity of this animal. Some tribes, like Ahirs, needed no conversion to a doctrine which they already held. Others, like Chamars, who were cow-killers at first, were taught to abstain from this practice, but were still permitted to eat cow carrion, as they do to this day.

From objects, places, and animals we turn to souls,—the souls of the dead,—invisible beings, whose existence, however, is no more questioned than is that of the apes, rivers, trees, &c., by which men are visibly surrounded. That the soul survives the body, and enters into some new state of being on leaving it, is, or has been an universal instinct of mankind, and consequently no tribe or race of men, however savage or ignorant, can be said to be without a religion: for the belief in souls or spirits is the source out of which all creeds have sprung. The soul on taking its flight from the body may wander in the air as a persecuting or beneficent ghost; or it may enter into some other form of bodily existence, such as a tree, an animal, or a rock; or lastly, it may find admission into some state of bliss or woe removed altogether from earthly scenes. Mushéras have all three forms of faith. We have seen already how the souls of the dead may, as they think, enter into a tree or a bear. We have seen, too, how, when the obsequies have been duly paid, it may rise to the mansions of Indra, and behold the dances of the celestial dancing girls. Of ghosts, bogies and goblins, that is, souls which have left the body in a state of pain or in some other unlucky manner, they stand in the same kind of dread, as do all classes of Hindus and Mahomedans, and (we may add) all nations of men throughout the world; but on the whole they are more prone to the veneration of deified ancestral souls than to the fear of persecuting ghosts.

Ancestor worship displays itself not only in the veneration paid to Deosi, the great forefather of the tribe, but in the veneration of certain local heroes of less fame, whom Mushéras in the plains—spreading out, as they have done, from jungle to jungle, “like a creeper from bough to bough,”—have learnt to reverence from having come accidentally in their way. For example, in the forests of the Gonda—Nepal Terai, where they have come across the indigenous Tharus, they have learnt with them to sacrifice hogs, goats, and capons to a so-called

local ancestor named Raja Dàngu, who is apparently a mere personification of the hills (Dáng), under whose shadow the Tharus live. Further south in the districts of Gorakhpur and Fyzabad, they pay offerings of flesh, rice, and honey to Raja Bal or Bhal, the wild man who started into life out of the battered corpse of Raja Ben, the far famed king of the aboriginal races,—that incorrigible heretic, who would not be converted to the teachings of Brahmans, and whose body they battered with blades of kusha grass, till a babe sprung out of it. The child thus produced was so hideous, that he was immediately banished into the forest, where he became the founder of several forest tribes. Another local ancestor is one Maganpal, to whom the Mushéras of Barabanki do homage under the title of Banraj, or Forest King,—some celebrated hunter, we may suppose, whose name was once a talisman among the wild tribes of that district, before it had been wholly denuded, as it now is, of the natural forest.

But the ancestor to whom the widest reverence is paid, and whose name is one of the closest bonds of union between all sections of the Mushéra tribe, both in the hills and plains, is Deosi. We have seen already how, on the day of the final marriage feast, when all the ceremonies have been completed, and the youth and maid are one, he is invoked to come down from the palace of Indra, and “eat the food of this world” and bestow his blessing on the bride and bridegroom; and how, on the completion of funeral rites, when the chief mourner has returned to his family, a tribal bard is called in to relate the story of his victories over Ahirs, and his ascent to the palace of Indra. He is specially worshipped as the god who presides over hunting and root digging, and the collection of forest fruits and flowers. On the birth of a male child it is to Deosi that the thank offerings are made by the mother: he is thus the god of male offspring. The mode of worship is simple, but characteristic. They cut up a *goh* or lizard, and throw the pieces of raw flesh into a river: for it was in a river that he himself was buried, and the lizard is the animal which he taught his posterity to dig out and eat, and whose flesh is still chiefly used in paying offerings to the dead. At the time of throwing the flesh offerings to Deosi, he is invoked in the following words (all in Hindi):—

*Jahán katon barh burhwá ho to yah ka lé*  
*Barh barh monhin aherwa de monse pajwá lé.*

“Wherever thou mayest be, Oh father, accept this offering. Grant me bountiful prey, and accept my worship.” Thus Deosi, though once a mere mortal who was killed by an Ahir, is now a god, spiritualized and unseen, of ubiquitous presence,



with power to bless the union of man and wife and to grant success in hunting.

There is one more ancestor whose spirit is worshipped by a portion of the tribe,—the Dolkarhás—who, as we have explained above, have become detached from the parent stem through eating forbidden flesh (the flesh of the horse), and following the forbidden occupation of palki-carrying. This ancestor, as the reader will remember, is Anséri, a merely eponymous name signifying the Divider. He, like Deosi, has been deified, and this under the name of Dulá Deo, which is now understood to signify the Dooli-god, but was probably an adaptation from Dulá Deo, the house god of some of the Kol and Gond tribes of Central India. The offerings paid to this divinity consist of the head of a ram or goat, the eggs of the goh or lizard, and a piece of yellow cloth. These are presented to him on a large plate made of dhák leaves. Gur and ghee (treacle and clarified butter) are offered to him through fire. The month in which these offerings are chiefly paid is Baisákh (April), the commencement of the marriage season amongst Hindus, when doolis and palkis are in much request, and when the god is therefore especially propitious.

Much worship is paid among the hill tribes to Bhágwat Deo—half tiger and half man—who like the preceding is a deified human soul, but not an ancestral one. There is a tragical story current among most of these tribes, Gond as well as Kol, of a young prince, who on the very night of his wedding day, and before he had been received in the bed chamber of his bride, was attacked and eaten by a tiger. The ghosts of any other men or women who have been slain by tigers have been associated with this one, and the collective unit thus formed is the Tiger-god, Bhágwat. One peculiarity, however, requires to be noticed. The soul of a person who has died a violent death takes its agonies with it into the air and becomes a *bhut* or persecuting goblin; and such a ghost as that of the young prince, who was devoured by a tiger on the very night of his wedding, and on the eve of consummation, could not be expected to rest. But by constant propitiatory offerings even such a ghost as this can be pacified at last, and when this happy state has been reached, he becomes himself a protecting deity against the very animal which destroyed him. Such is the homœopathic instinct of mankind,—an instinct which has expressed itself nowhere in greater force or variety than in India.\* The reader

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\* As a parallel to Bhágwat, the Tiger-god, we may quote the case of Harda Lál, the Cholera-god:—

“Our great Cholera god is Hardaur or Harda Lálá, the ghost of some ancient worthy who died of the disease. Most villages have a mound

will remember the lines addressed to Lycidas, the luckless swain who was drowned within sight of land :—

Henceforth thou art the genius of the shore  
In thy large recompense, and shalt be good  
To all that wander in that perilous flood.—*Milton.*

Bhágwat is worshipped by the slaughter of a buffalo,—the highest honor which a Mushéra can confer upon any deity—and one especially suited to the tiger-like propensities of this dubious divinity. His worship is not periodical, and is apt to fall into disuse, until some one has been killed and eaten by a wild beast, when his aid is again invoked. The buffalo sacrifice to Bhágwat is an event which brings together a considerable collection of men, and several different households are expected to contribute towards the expense. The animal is tied, thrown, and decapitated by the headman of the assembly, who in one blow cuts through its neck with an axe, called in the Mushera tongue *ganjam* ; for the *gahdála* or spade blade would not suffice for such a purpose. The head of the animal is left on the altar floor for Bhágwat. The carcass is then divided among the contributors of each household ; but a quarter of the whole is the perquisite of the Pathári or priest who conducts the ceremonies. The spot where the head was left is marked with a heap of stones. That spot, together with the land surrounding it, which is marked off with a boundary line, is “a city of refuge” against tigers and other beasts of prey. It is only within such a circle that a Mushéra feels safe in sleeping out at night.

As the worship of Bhágwat has reference to a martyr, who was raised to the rank of a divinity on account of his unhappy fate, so that of Mahábir or Hanumán, (known also as Borám in the Vindhya and Khaimur hills), took its rise from a great warrior king or hero, who, after his death, was deified on account of his valorous deeds. In the great Hindu epic, the Rámáyan, he figures as the flying monkey-king and general of the ape army, to whose assistance Ram, the banished king of Ayodhyá, owed his victory over Ravan, the demon king of Lanká. In the plains of Upper India, Hanumán is honored, because Rám is honored, and handsome

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in his honor, which now-a-days is gaily dressed with flags, peacocks feathers, &c., and offerings of milk, curds, and sweets are made on Sundays. On such occasions the demon pays the place a visit, and a couple of bricks are put in front of the shrine on which they may alight, as of course no well conditioned ghost can rest on mother earth.”—*Indian Notes and Queries*, September 1887. Here the ghost of a man who died of cholera is propitiated to avert cholera, as the ghost of a tiger-slain man is propitiated to avert tigers.



temples, with images of the monkey-king himself, have been erected in his name. In the hills of Central India, where Ram is scarcely known, Hanumán is honored for his own sake, and his fanes or sacred places are not temples made with hands, but the huge projecting rocks on which he sat and the pools in which he bathed. In the province of Berar, as a recent writer has shewn, "the setting up of his image in the midst of a hamlet is the outward and visible sign and token of fixed habitations, so that he is found in every township."\* The indigenes of that isolated province, together with the Bhuiyas, Mushéras and Chandéras, &c., amongst whom his name is honored, must have been the apes of the Rámáyan, who assisted Rám in his expedition against Rávan; a supposition which is favoured by the prognathous or semisimian physiognomy of the tribes in question. That the monkey is a sacred animal among the hill tribes, being admired on account of its half human ways and revered for its more than human powers of leaping and climbing, has been shewn already; and the respect thus felt for individual apes may have culminated, by the usual generalizing process, in the creation of a great ape-king possessing the best properties of the entire ape species in an intensified degree. In this way the gods of polytheism are formed. But Mahábir was something more than a mere creation of the mind. The very name Mahábir, "great hero," implies that there was a real historical warrior who headed an army of aboriginal troops in aid of Rám, and who after his death was deified on account of his heroic deeds, exactly as Ram himself was. Moreover, the name "Hanumán," the synonym for Máhabir or great hero, would be meaningless, unless it is understood of a man. For "Hanumán" does not signify "ape," but a man with big jaws, prognathous: and all over Upper India the possession of big jaws is regarded as a mark of strength and valour. Hanumán was therefore a distinctive and complimentary epithet applied, not to an ape, but to an actual hero distinguished for his strength and valour. The Bhuiya tribe consider Mahábir to be their great ancestor and founder:† and *bir* is the word current among several of the aboriginal tribes for "deified ancestor," just as *heros* in Latin meant originally "the dead man of the house," whose ghost, as Lar or Household god, was worshipped with daily

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\* Asiatic studies by Sir A. Lyall, p. 13.

† Colonel Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal," p. 140. The Bhuiyas call themselves Pavanbansh after Mahábir, that is, the race of the wind. The mother of Mahábir was Anjaná; evidently a lady of matriarchal times. But Brahmans, to increase her respectability according to their own notions, gave her a husband of the name of Pavan, the god of wind; and thus Pavan was made the father of Mahábir.

offerings by his survivors.\* Amongst Mushéras, Mahábir receives no actual worship either casual or periodic. But as an oath taken in his name is scarcely, if at all, less binding than one taken in the name of Banaspati, he must be counted among their divinities. I was surprised to find that even in a district so far removed as Partabgarh from the original home of the tribe, it was still the custom among the Mushéra hamlets to take oaths in the name of Mahábir.

Bhágwat and Mahábir may both be quoted as instances of animal worship which has been mixed with hero-worship. The tiger is regarded with a sense of religious awe (inspired no doubt by physical terror), on account of its prodigious rapacity, strength, and rapidity of motion; and it is common among the hill tribes to test a man's honesty by making him swear upon a tiger's skin. The ape is regarded with a like sense of awe, but for different reasons. But the deification of both has been aided by the belief in the survival of the human soul, the tiger-slain martyr, or the victorious warrior, whose memories could not be forgotten.

From objects, animals, places, and human souls, we turn to Devas or divine spirits,—beings conceived to be of an ethereal nature like human souls, but not sprung, like human souls, direct out of some mortal body or bodies, in which they once lived. Just as the soul animates and directs the body in which it resides, so the Deva or divine spirit animates, personifies, and directs that department of nature and that class of objects and events, over which it has been placed in command.

First, as to Indra, the sky-god, to whose voluptuous court of songs and dances the souls of the blessed flit away after the completion of the funeral rites. It is scarcely necessary to say that the name of this divinity is of purely Vedic or non-aboriginal origin. To the Aryas of the Vedic age, he was the supreme being in the universe, the crowned king of the gods, the giver of rain and sunshine to men, the vanquisher of the Drought Dragon, and the sender of victory to his worshippers.

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\* My authority for this explanation of the word *heros* is Coulanges, in his *La Cité Antique*. The argument deduced from the name Bir or Mahábir corroborates the impression formed by Sir A. Lyall, (p. 14, *Asiatic Studies*), that "it seems as if hero-worship and animal-worship had got mixed up" in the case of Hanumán. But I am not aware what authority this writer has for the assertion that "Hanumán latterly emerges into the full glory of a divine Avatar," &c. Hanuman is not among the 10 incarnations of Vishnu generally recognized, nor is he among the 22 enumerated in the Bhágvat Purán. Ram himself was an incarnation, and it would have been rather strange if he and his lieutenant Hanumán had both impersonated Vishnu simultaneously, when they went out to battle against Ravan. Moreover Hanumán, though much worshipped by Vishnuvites, is counted among the eleven Rudras or epithets of the god Shiva, the rival of Vishnu.



He held his court in Swarga, the heaven of the gods and of beatified souls, a region of great magnificence, and peopled with courtezans and dancing girls. But the creed of the ancient Aryas has disappeared through intermixture with the earlier creeds indigenous to the country, just as the Aryas themselves have disappeared through intermarriage with the indigenous race. Indra has long been superseded. In all his contests with the sages, ascetics, and divine beings of the new pantheon, he was worsted; and he is now no longer worshipped by any tribe or caste of the Hindu community.\* How, then, has it come to pass that his heaven is still sought after by the Mushéras and kindred tribes? The following explanation is offered:

There is the clearest evidence that his worship lingered as a tradition among many of the Chattri clans, and as a fact amongst the Ahirs or cattle-grazing tribes, long after it had been discountenanced by Brahmans and their more immediate followers. Among the Chattri clans, we must include the Kharwars or Gharwárs, and the Chandels, Chanders, or Cherus, both of whom were (as the reader already knows) of Kol origin and near kinsmen to Mushéras.† The Chandels, especially those of Mahoba, in Bandelkhand, have legends widely current and not of an ancient date, in which divine horses are sent down from the heaven of Indra for mortal warriors to ride on. Again, we learn from the Mahábhárata that Indra was the favourite deity of the Ahirs or pastoral tribes in whose midst Krishna was born.‡ Now the reader is already aware of the constant warfare and rivalry in olden times between Ahirs and Mushéras, and how the traditional association of the two tribes

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\* He was cursed and humiliated by the sage Gautama for attempting to seduce his wife Ahalyá. He was defeated in his own kingdom by Ravana, the demon king of Lanká. He lowered himself by marrying the daughter of a demon, the Daitya Pulomán. He was overwhelmed with ruin by the choleric sage Durvasas. He was defeated by Krishna, who dissuaded the pastoral tribes of Vraja from worshipping him.

† The Kol origin of these clans is not now admitted by themselves, and as Colonel Dalton remarks, the physiognomy of Chandels and Gharwárs cannot now be distinguished from that of other clans, through long centuries of intermarriage with other Chattris. In confirmation of the view here expressed as to the identification of Gharwárs with Kharwárs, it may be pointed out that the Raja of Kuntit, in the Mirzapur district, (one of the earliest homes of the Khárwárs), is not only a member of the Gharwár *bansh* or clan, but is the head of this clan, and is recognized as such by the Chattris of Rajputana.

‡ In the Mahábhárata, that is, in the modern form to which Bráhman compilers have brought it, Krishna has been transformed from an Ahir warrior in pursuit of love adventures to an incarnation of Vishnu. Consequently he is represented as placing himself in especial rivalry with Indra, and as dissuading the pastoral tribes, among whom he was born, from persisting in his worship.

has at last, by a curious reaction, resulted in Mushéras seeking to be called Ahirs.\* Thus it is not difficult to see how Indra, after being outcasted, so to speak, from the new hierarchy, yet lingering for several centuries more among Chattris and Ahirs, passed eventually through them into the creed of Mushéras and other Kol tribes in the villages of Central India. In the legend (related near the beginning of this essay) of the battle fought by Makára, the Chander, against Lorik, the Ahir, both warriors are provided with divine horses sent down from the heaven of Indra; Makará with the mare Lámbi, and Lorik with the horse Mangru: and this legend was narrated to me by a Mushéra.

But though the heaven of India is the abode to which the dead seek to rise, and Indra the king who reigns there, his recognition by Mushéras beyond this point is of the vaguest possible description. No sacrifices are paid to him; nor does he ever come down, like Deosi, to interfere in the affairs of men on earth. His status amongst Mushéras is what that of Jupiter became among the Stoics; *securam degere vitam*. Mushéras in fact do not trouble themselves about the sky. Their thoughts are of the earth, earthy. Diggers of roots, hunters of lizards, dwellers in holes and caves, worshippers of a spade-blade (the *gahdála*), looking to the forest for the wild fruits and vermin on which they subsist, having no crops to raise and no cattle to rear, indifferent to rain and sunshine,—what have they to do with the sky or the god who reigns there? Men's conceptions of the deity are bounded by their interests and aspirations; and so a Mushéra sees much more force in killing a buffalo to Bhágwat who will protect him from tigers, or in throwing the raw flesh of a minced lizard to Deosi, who will give him "bountiful prey," or in falling on his face before the tribal tool, which will grant him good luck in the opening new year, than in singing hymns to the Dawn, or bending the knee to an otiose sky-god.

The great active power in the universe, according to Mushéra belief, is Banaspati, Bansatti, or Bânsuri, the goddess who (as the name implies) personifies and presides over forests. By her command the trees bear fruit, the bulbs grow in the earth, the bees make honey, the tussar worm fattens on the ásan leaf, and lizards, wolves and jackals (useful for food to man) multiply their kind. She is the goddess of child-birth. To her the childless wife makes prayers for the grant of

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\* Here we may state that the legend of Deosi and Lorik having several sons by a joint wife, who were the founders of the seven tribes of Ahirs, is of Ahir, and not Mushéra, origin. Polyandry is unknown to Mushéras, but is scarcely yet extinct among certain classes of Ahirs.



offspring. In her name and by her aid the medicine man or sorcerer expels devils from the bodies of the possessed. In her name and to her honor the village man kindles a new made fire for lighting a brick-kiln. Woe to the man who takes a false oath in the name of Bansatti.\* Mother Bansatti is the highest conception of divine power which Mushéras have been able to form, being to them what Aditi, the great mother of the world, was to the Aryas of the Vedic age, or the mystic world-evolving Brahman (neuter) to the post-Vedic theosophists, or the *anima naturæ* to the pantheists of modern Europe.

That a goddess, rather than a god, should have been elected for such a high office, is well in keeping with the prevailing tone of current Indian belief at the present day, though it clashes with our notions of the male god Zeus or Jupiter, derived from Greek and Roman mythology. All over India the worship of Divine Mothers, charged with some more or less special function conducive to life or death, is the most popular form of religion. In many districts or divisions there is scarcely a village without its guardian goddess. Shiva himself is seldom worshipped apart from his consort Kali or Parbati; and some times he is represented in his idols as an *Ardha-nāri* or half woman. The *lingum* or phallic emblem is very rarely seen apart from the *yoni*, the emblem of the maternal principle. "In Gujarāt," says Professor Monier Williams, "there are about a hundred and forty distinct Mothers, declared by the Brahmans to be different forms of Shiva's consort. They are really the representatives of ancient local deities, worshipped by the inhabitants from time immemorial. . . . I visited a small village near Kairu, presided over by a Mother worshipped under the name of Khodiyar (Mischief), because she is supposed when in an amiable mood to shield from harm. . . . Another Mother in a neighbouring village is worshipped under the name of Untai; who has the special function of preventing or producing cough in children. Another, named Berái, prevents cholera; another called Maraki causes cholera; another, Hadakai, controls mad dogs and prevents hydrophobia; another, Asápurī, represented by two idols satisfies the hopes of wives by giving children. . . . The offering of goat's blood to some of these Mothers is supposed to be very effectual. . . . Blood in their food; and if not supplied with blood, they take the life of human beings. . . . The eight Mothers worshipped by the Tantrikas of Bengal are each represented with a child in her lap and it is remarkable

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\* The name Banaspati is from two Hindi words signifying "Mistress of the Forest."

“that the goddess Umá, wife of Shiva, when worshipped  
 “as a type of beauty and motherly excellence, is always re-  
 “garded as a virgin. So in particular churches at Munich  
 “and Augsburg, the shrines of the Black Virgin are frequented  
 “by vast numbers of pilgrims, who hang up votive offerings,  
 “often consisting of waxen arms and legs around her altar,  
 “in the firm belief that they owe the restoration of  
 “broken limbs and the recovery from various diseases to her  
 “intervention” \* Professor Williams deduces the wide-  
 spread prevalence of Mother-worship or Goddess-worship in  
 India from the patriarchal constitution of the Aryan family  
 in which the mother was an object of devotion to the  
 children. I lean, however, to a contrary view, which is implied  
 in what the Professor himself says, where he describes these  
 goddess-mothers as “the ancient local deities, worshipped by  
 “the inhabitants from time immemorial, though now declared  
 “by Brahmans to be the different forms of Shiva’s consort.”  
 In this view they are the goddess-mothers of the aboriginal  
 races, whom Brahmans have appropriated,—mothers, who are  
 self-productive, like the Vedic Aditi, or whose husbands are  
 unknown, as they were in the primeval days of promiscuity or  
 matriarchy. Among the aboriginal races of India, goddesses  
 or Divine Mothers are more generally worshipped than gods,  
 as Dharti Mai, Mother Earth, by the agricultural Bhuiyas and  
 Khairwars, Tári by the agricultural Kándhs, and Banaspati  
 Mai, the Forest Mother, by the forest-ranging Mushéras  
 and Savaris. “The Birhors,” says Colonel Dalton, “worship  
 “female deities and devils. They have assigned to Devi the  
 “chief place among the former; and the others are supposed to  
 “be her daughters and grand-daughters. She is worshipped as  
 “the creator and destroyer.” † One of the three great sects  
 amongst which modern Hinduism is divided, is that of the  
 Sáktyas, or worshippers of the female principle, in which Kali  
 holds the highest, and every male deity only a secondary, place.

Let us first see how Banaspati is worshipped by Mushéras in  
 they own houses or huts, and this both in the hills and plains.  
 They make a platform, called a chauri, in the corner of the hut,  
 about one inch in height above the level of the floor, and nine  
 inches in length and breadth. This little square is made of clay,  
 (as the floor of the hut is), and the surface is smeared with river  
 water or cow-dung. This is the altar on which the offerings  
 to her are placed,—an altar without an idol; for there is no  
 mound, idol, or other visible symbol under which Bansatti is

\* Extracts from a paper by Professor Monier Williams in *Athenæum*,  
 dated 6th December 1879, pp. 727—8.

† Ethnology of Bengal, p. 220.



worshipped. On ordinary occasions, the offerings consist of flowers, fruits, grasses, roots, &c., brought fresh from the jungle : and the days in which the offerings are made are Monday and Friday. If the worshipper has any special favour to ask, he cuts the ball of his finger with some blades of kusha grass (the grass held sacred throughout India) and lets 4 or 5 drops of blood fall on the altar,—a survival, as we may readily infer, from the now obsolete custom of human sacrifice.

The annual or periodical worship of Bansatti (for this rather than Banaspati is the name by which they usually call her) is not kept in the same way by Mushéras in the plains as by those in the hills : and the date, too, is different. To Mushéras in the plains, the date is the second half of the month of Baisakh, corresponding nearly with the first half of May. The worship is held, as before, on Monday or Friday, and at 3 o'clock in the day. The oldest man in the household performs the ceremony. Up till the hour named, (and this is calculated with sufficient accuracy from the position of the sun), he has taken no food. His first act is to purify himself by bathing in a river, and putting a clean cloth round his loins. Thus equipped, he takes a handful of unhusked rice, husks it, and boils it in water mixed with sugar. The boiled rice is then made up into pancakes, which are baked in oil. These, together with a piece of yellow cloth, are placed on the *chauri* or altar, and dedicated to Bansatti. An oil-burner is then lighted from a new made fire. The man takes the light in his hand and passes it several times round the offerings, repeating certain words in honor of the goddess. Having done this, he sacrifices a ram or a he-goat, or a hog, or all three, if he possesses them. All the victims must be males ; for the Mushéra goddess, like the Hindu Káli, takes no pleasure in female victims. The mode of sacrifice is by cutting off the head and placing it on the altar. The worshipper then stands before the head, and questions it as to whether the offering has been accepted by the goddess or not. If the head trembles or appears to do so, the worshipper is much pleased ; for this is taken to signify that the offering has been accepted and that Bansatti has actually entered into the hut and tasted the blood. All the members of the household rejoice with him, and do homage to the altar or rather to the goddess who has visited it. The trembling test, by which the head of the victim is interrogated, reminds one of the practise of the Greeks, who tested the fitness of a goat to be used as a victim by throwing cold water over it. If the goat did not shiver and tremble, when the water was thrown on it, it was believed to be unfit and unacceptable as an offering.

The periodical festival of Banaspati, as kept by hill Mushéras, is more imposing, in proportion as Banaspati herself comes

more nearly home to the mind of a forester than to that of men living in the plains, where only small patches of jungle remain. The time of the festival coincides approximately with that of the festival of Rám (Dashara) in Upper India and of Durga in Bengal, *viz.*, the Nine Nights of Kuár, that is, the latter part of September or the first part of October, according to the changes of the moon. The coincidence of date has not, I think, arisen from one community having imitated the custom of another, but was suggested to all communities alike by physical causes. To all who are engaged in agriculture (and these can scarcely be less than 80 per cent. of the entire population) it is the time for gathering in the *kharif* or autumnal harvest; and is therefore the fittest season that could be chosen for the celebration of an annual feast in honor of any hero, god, or goddess who may be most patronized by the people. To tribes like Mushéras, who have no concern with agriculture, it is the season when the yam roots have grown to their largest size, and when the gum has hardened on the trees sufficiently to be picked off for sale. Above all it is the season for gathering in the harvest of the tussar silkworm, the worm itself having been sown, so to speak, on the asan leaves some 4 months previously. During all this period of preparation Bansatti has been regularly invoked by the man in charge of the silkworms. At the close of her labours, when the cocoons produced by her aid have been collected, she is invited to take rest, and come and visit her bridegroom and re-enact the scene of her marriage day. The festival therefore is, to Mushéras at least, the anniversary of the wedding of their great goddess Banaspati. It is known by the name of Karm or Karmá, being so called from the tree, a branch of which is fixed up in the middle of the akra or dancing floor prepared for the occasion.\*

The bridegroom to whom Banaspati is wedded on this day is Ghansám, or uncle (Dáu) Ghansám, or Bansgopál, as Mushéras sometimes call him. What the origin of the name might be is not certain; but probably it is an abridgement of Ghanasyáma, one of the names of Krishna; for the name of Krishna is associated with the worship of the karma tree in more than one Purán.† Mushéras, however, know nothing

\* According to Colonel Dalton (Bengal Ethnology, p. 260), the botanical name of the tree is *Nauclea Parvifolia*. He gives a description of the Karm festival as kept by Oraons and Mundas in p. 259, and by Muasis in p. 232. By the former, worship is paid to the Karm tree as to a god or goddess. By the latter to Durga, who here takes the place of Banaspati. On this occasion Durga is wedded to Ghansám, as Banaspati is to the same personage in the Mushéra festival.

† According to Colonel Dalton, p. 259 and 260, the Karm tree in connection with Krishna is described in the Bhabishya Puran and in the Vishnu Puran.



about Krishna; and the name "Ghansám" must, if this identification is correct, have crept in amongst them, as Indra and Indrapur have done, through intercourse with their former foes, the cattle-grazing Ahirs amongst whom Krishna was born. According to the legend of the Kurs and Muásis (and these are neighbours to Mushéras), the original Ghansám was that unhappy young chief who was devoured by a tiger on the very night of his marriage, but who visits his wife once a year, on the anniversary of his wedding.\* To Mushéras, he is simply known as the husband of Banaspati. A cone-shaped mound or pillar of mud, about a foot and half in height, is erected in his honour; and this is to Mushéras the phallic emblem,—the prototype of the stone emblem worshipped by Hindus in honour of Mahádev, the god of pro-creation. The mound is painted red with red earth. Pulse and rice are mixed together and placed with some honey in a leaf plate before the mud pillar: and the pillar is then addressed in the following words (all in the Mushéra tongue):—

*Hit dokar timran magnu mahrin  
Súpar keldi matri baglo popka nahro kur.*

"Come, Oh Father, into the world, eat rice, pulse, and honey, the food of thy horse." By the horse is meant worshipper: for the deity, when he is thus invoked and presented with offerings, is believed to take entire possession of the worshipper and to control him as a rider does a horse. The Karm festival is one of music, dancing and feasting, in which both sexes freely join, and all kinds of indecent jokes, if not something more, are passed between them, as in the Holi amongst Hindus. On the night of the last day they go to the mud-mound representing Ghansám, taking with them red earth and chaplets of jungle plants and flowers. After repainting this phallic emblem with red earth, they throw handfuls of rice flour over its point. The flowers and chaplets are spread on the ground before the emblem in the form of a couch, and Banaspati is invited to come and visit her husband with the following words (all in the Mushéra language):

*Hit timro Dudhali Banspati bhú huiyá kanto ráso kyo.*

"Come hither, Oh Mother Banaspati, and give delight to thy husband." The invitation is well in keeping with the peculiarity which we have mentioned already regarding the marriage rites of Mushéras, viz., that the bride comes to the house of the bridegroom, not the bridegroom to hers.

The following is a longer address, inviting her to come to her spouse, and informing her that the bearers are standing

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\* Colonel Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 232.

by with a well-fitted dooli, ready to carry her away. The language here is a rough form of Hindi, which is not unintelligible to Mushéras, and is more appreciated by Hindus: for all Hindus who have settled in the Vindhya hills take part in this festival:—

1. *Mas baisákhavá kai janmali jo dhaiyá dekhali rí Banspatí ho máy.*
2. *Karali suratiyá Sevak apne kai hankari balauli kainhrá ho máy.*
3. *Sunat ruruiyá kaharan dhaule juratai pahuchal áy ho máy.*
4. *Kauní hetuiyá lagauli ruruiyá mohsan desu batáy ho máy.*
5. *Dihali báchá dudhali maharaneyá sunali bachaniyá tu mori ho máy.*
6. *Janmali jo dhaiyá más saisákhavá kai pujvá kai auli samaiya ho máy.*
7. *Begeh dadiyá sajaulasi kahará bár mangor kar áju ho máy.*
8. *Baithali hoy sevak basavariyai pujvá kai bidhiyá banáy ho máy.*
9. *Suni kai suni kai kanhrai dadiyá lai aulini dadiyai lálai ohár ho máy.*
10. *Baithali dadiyá mori maharaniyá kaharan chale paráy ho máy.*
11. *Ay kai pahunchali mori maharaniyá jahavám kothí bāns ho máy.*
12. *Dekhali pujvá banaule sevakiyá bannai dihalis ásisiyá ho máy.*
13. *Pujvá lai kai mor maharaniyá bhaili sevak asvár ho máy.*
14. *Ghorhvá kudaulis lipalá dharatiyá sunali binatiyá dukhin ho máy.*
15. *Dihali gidarvá bajhiniai matavaini ankhiyá dihalí andharvá ho máy.*
16. *Kihali ban kai birichhiyá ho natavaini bannai ban auli jhopáy ho máy.*
17. *Yah bidhi pujvá lihali maharaniyán chalípur apne jáy ho máy.*

1. I know thee, Oh Mother Banaspati. Thou art she who wast born in the month of Baisákh.
2. Thou art ready, Oh Mother, to visit thy worshippers, and therefore sendest for men to carry thee away in thy dooll.
3. When the bearers hear thy call, Oh Mother, they run up to thee and say:
4. Tell us, Oh Mother, the purpose for which thou hast called us.
5. Thou tellest them, Oh Queen Mother, to give heed to thy words.
6. Thou tellest them that the time for worshipping that child who was born in the month of Baisákh has come.
7. Thou tellest them, Oh Mother, that on this day, being Mangal (Tuesday), they must bring a dooli well-fitted with curtains.
8. Thou tellest them, Oh Mother, that thy worshippers, having provided the customary offerings, are waiting for thee.
9. Hearing thy words, Oh Mother, they run and fetch the dooli furnished with red curtains and red covering.
10. Then thou takest thy seat in the dooli, Oh Queen, and the bearers carry thee along in haste.
11. Thus, Oh Queen, thou reachest the place where there is a clump of bamboos to receive thee.
12. When thou beholdest, Oh Mother, the offerings provided by thy worshippers, thou givest them thy blessing.
13. Having accepted the offerings, Oh Queen Mother, thou ridest thy worshippers (takest possession of their bodies).
14. Then, Oh Mother, thou makest thy horses (worshippers) leap on the ground besmeared for thy worship, and hearest the prayers of the distressed.
15. Thou, Oh Mother, givest children to the barren and sight to the blind.
16. Thou, Oh Mother, causest the trees of the forest to grow, and fillest it with herbs for our use.
17. Having thus received thy customary offerings, hO Queen Mother, thou returnest to thine own city.



Thus the birthday of Banaspati is in Baisákh when the mahwá tree has cast its food-giving flowers, when the cheraunji nut is ripe, when the sál has burst into blossom, and the wild mango and other fruits have taken shape. The new-born child, Banaspati, is the new-born verdure of the forest, after the cold of winter has passed, and is to Mushéras the opening of the new year. Her wedding-day, when she sets out in her red-curtained dooli to go to her husband, is (as we have seen) in Kuar when all the autumnal crops, cultivated or spontaneous, have been gathered in. Her shrine, when she comes down to visit her spouse and receive the offerings of her worshippers, is a clump of banboos, *báns*; whence she is also called Bánsuri, evidently an assimilation to the name Banaspati or Bansatti. During the Karm season the bamboo is a sacred plant, a sanctuary; and no Mushéra would presume to cut it or break it with his *gahdála* so long as the festival continues. The "customary offerings" have, in truth, varied with custom. Formerly, and not very long ago, human victims were sacrificed to Banaspati—a trace of which appears in the blood-offerings still made to her from the cut ball of the finger—just as human victims were once offered to Khuria Ráni by the Korwás, to Thakurani Mai or Chandi by the Bhuiyas, to Bánsuri or Thakuraini by the Savaris, to Rankini by the Bhumijes, to Sing Bonga by the Mundas, to Bura Deo by the Gonds, and to Tari by the Kandhs. \* Now, Banaspati or Bansuri has to content herself with a male buffalo (or a boar if no buffalo is to be had), a he-goat and a ram, just as Demeter, the earth goddess of the Greeks, was propitiated with the sacrifice of boars. All these goddess mothers, whether Kol or Gondh or Greek or Hindu, delight in the blood of males, and despise the blood of female victims.

The Karm festival, as has been stated, is one of music, feasting, and dancing. The dance I have not seen. The musical instrument used at such times, of which I have procured two specimens, is a curiosity in the history of musical inventions. It consists of a wooden apparatus, to the top and bottom of which a string is attached on either side. A couple of flat wooden plates, about 6 inches in diameter, are strung on each cord in such a way as to slide up and down and strike each other whenever the apparatus is shaken for this purpose. The rattling of these tablets is Mushéra music. The native Kol or Mushéra name for this instrument is *khirkhichá*. Another name, derived from two Hindi words, is *kartál* or "the clapping of hands." The motive, then, which suggested the invention, was

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\* Colonel Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 229, 147, 149, 176, 187, 281, 286.

to produce a sound like the clapping of hands, but on a louder and grander scale. In the district of Gorakhpur I was told that the only kind of music known to Mushéras was that of clapping their hands. In another district I was told that those who have the means of buying, play on brass cymbals. I found that the *kartál*, too, was used by a people who called themselves Kols, but were in fact Mushéras in the Allahabad and Banda districts, although the specimens which I procured were from the Mushéra hillmen of Mirzapur. It is evident, then, that cymbals were made of wood before they were made of brass, and that the clapping of hands was the foundation of both, and that all 3 types of music may be seen in actual use among Mushéras at the present day.\*

Another instrument which they sometimes use at times of worship or in marriages is a kind of drum made of the dried skin of a *goh* or lizard, which is stretched across a hollow gourd or across a hollow piece of wood similarly shaped, into which tiny brass cymbals are inserted. They beat the drum with their fingers and make the cymbals tinkle in the worship of Banaspati, as Brahmans do in the worship of their own gods at Hindu temples,

The annual festival of Karm, so far as I can learn, is the only great periodic feast observed by Mushéras. They never keep the Holi, the popular festival observed by Hindus at the end of March. The Diwáli is kept only by village Mushéras, and in the manner already described. Amongst several other hill tribes, both Kol and Gond, there is a great triennial sacrifice of a buffalo or cow to some patron deity; a buffalo by Cherus or Chandars to Dharti, the tutelary goddess of the village; a buffalo by Nágbanshis to Bura-Deo, the name given to the huge rock which overhangs their valley like a watchful deity; a buffalo by Nágeshwars

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\* It may be worth comparing the musical instruments of Mushéras with those of other backward races in other parts of the world. *At Home in Figi*, by Mrs. Gordon Cumming, vol. I, p. 153.—“One company acted as orchestra, sitting on the ground,—some clapping hands sometimes with the palms flat, sometimes hollowed, to produce diversity of tune,—some striking the ground with short resonant bamboos held vertically, which produce a strange booming sound.” The same author in vol. II, p. 63, speaks of a Figi dance accompanied with shouts, yells, and measured “hand-clapping.” In Grey’s *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 94, the Maories are described as “beating time with castanets of bone and wood.” In Forbes’ *British Burma*, p. 146, where the Burmese musical instruments are described, allusion is made to clappers of split bamboos, which they beat in excellent time, but always too liberally. Thus in countries so distant from each other as Figi, Japan, Burma and Central India we have the same system at work, first hand-clapping, and then the various modes of imitating this sound, as by “wooden castanets” (the *kartál* of Mushéras) or “split bamboo.” It would appear from this that the first object of music was to beat time to dancers.



to their guardian god, Moihidhunja ; a buffalo by Oraons to Darhá, who is represented by a ploughshare, which is replaced by a fresh one when the three years have expired ; and a cow by the Malers of Rajmahal to Chalnad, who is the guardian of villages.\* This sacrifice is not observed by Mushéras. One of the causes (according to a legend quoted in the first section of this essay) which led to the banishment of Deosi from the Chander or Cheru tribe and the consequent formation of the new tribe Mushéra, was his neglect to attend a triennial buffalo sacrifice that was being held by his six brothers and by their father Makará. It is therefore a badge of the Mushéra tribe not to keep this sacrifice.

It is by the power of Banaspati, and through the aid of her intercessory medium Mohani, that the medicine man or sorcerer casts out devils from those who are possessed,—the devils of epilepsy, faintness, cramp, impotence, barrenness and any other maladies, the cause of which is not understood, or which do not readily yield to the ordinary medicinal means, in the use of which Mushéras excel. Mohani means soother, enchantress. The sorcerer keeps by him a little stone image of this goddess the height of which is from 6 inches to a foot and a half—the only real image met with in the religious rites of Mushéras. The method pursued by the medicine man is to gain the favour of Mohani by repeated prayers, fastings, and offerings, and having won her over by these means, to use her as an intercessor with Banaspati, that great being, who has all spirits, all diseases, in fact all life and death, under her command. He commences his courtship of Mohani with fasting every Friday and every Monday (the two days most sacred to Banaspati), from Magh (January) to the end of Chait (March), eating only in the night time on such days. In the month of Baisákh (April), “when the child Banaspati was born;” on the Monday or Friday, whichever day comes first, he collects fresh flowers, fruits, and bones from the jungle ; buys a cock from some Khairwar or man of other outside tribe (for Mushéras themselves do not rear fowls) ; takes a lustral bath in the nearest river ; pounds some gheori root and chiraunji nut into flour, and mixes it with honey into a kind of sweetmeat. He then washes the little idol on which his hopes depend, places the flowers and sweetmeat before it, decapitates the cock, causing its blood to trickle directly over the head and into the very mouth of the idol, and prostrating himself before the goddess, prays to her in the following words:—

*Hit dudhali Mohani pásas kuiyá chero pallo dudhali Banspati sag bho.  
Take pity Mother Mohani on thy servant, and intercede for him with  
Mother Banspati.*

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\* Colonel Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, p. 129, 135, 132, 258, 268.

In the evening, after keeping a strict fast all day, he returns to his family, giving them the sweetmeat, but suffering no one but himself to eat the cock, such food being only fit for the servant of Mohani, the enchantress. The same process is steadily kept up in the following months till Kuár, the month of the anniversary of Banaspati's wedding, by which time he hopes that the favour of Mohani has been secured, and that her intercession with Banaspati has not been in vain. During the nine days of the Karm festival he maintains a strict fast, eating a small meal only at nights, and abstaining from the revelries in which others indulge in that festive season. While this season lasts, he seeks to propitiate Banaspati by offerings of boar, goat, wine, bangles, earrings, *sendur* or vermillion, a *tikali* or spangle for the forehead of married women, a piece of yellow cloth,—everything, in fact, which she as a bride would value most for her own adornment on her wedding day and for the marriage feast to be kept by herself and spouse. At last, at the close of this long fasting, meditation, and repetition of magical words, the trembling fit, called *abhuána* by Hindu villagers, and *dars* by Mushéras, sets in.\* He has been possessed by Banaspati. In a fury of excitement he seizes a young boar, bound ready for the purpose, by its hind legs, and swinging it over his shoulders dashes its head again and again on the ground, and leaves the battered carcass on Banaspati's altar after tasting some of its blood, the goddess and her votary being for the moment one†;—a state of ecstasy a few degrees less savage than that of the inspired medicine man among the Haidas of the Pacific States, who “springs on the “first person he meets, bites out and swallows one or two “mouthfuls of the man's living flesh, wherever he can fix his “teeth, and then rushes to another and another.‡” If his first experiment as a wizard or medicine man is successful, he becomes thenceforth a professional exorcist, and can be called upon to cure diseases which medicinal herbs cannot cure, and to interpret the movements and wishes of the unseen spirits of the air. If his subsequent attempts at exorcism do not always turn out successful, he always contrives to find out some way of explaining away the failure.

When the medicine man is called in to operate on a person possessed, he first bathes in a river, and then enters the patient's

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\* The word *abhuána* is not marked however in any Hindi Dictionary, that I have seen. It is the technical word used in Hindu villages for the trembling fit which seizes the inspired medicine man.

† If the goddess were not actually in the man and one with him, it would be the height of profanity for a sacrificer to taste blood intended for the deity.

‡ Herbert Spencer's *Sociology*, p. 289.



hut, carrying in his hand a branch of bamboo, which he fixes into the *chauri* or mud altar floor (already described) that is set apart for Banaspati in the corner of the hut. The bamboo, as the reader already knows, is the shrine or sanctuary of Banaspati, the visible token of her presence, whenever prayers and offerings are made to her in the open air; and hence the fixing of the branch into the altar floor is an invitation to her to enter the sick man's hut and relieve his sufferings. The exorcist, after offering rice-bear or wine, fruits, and flowers to the goddess, repeats the following prayer or *mantra* in the Mushéra tongue:—

*Timro dudhali Banspati hit chimlo barri barro girwat  
hutmu katmal hito ku.*

"Come, Oh Mother Banspati, behold this sickness and expel the dead man's spirit from the patient: blessing be to thee." If the leaves of the bamboo quiver, that is a sign that the goddess has entered the hut and taken her seat on the branch. The sorcerer himself on beholding this is seized with a fit of trembling and fancies that he is himself possessed. While he is in this ecstatic condition, he declares who and what the evil spirit is, why it has possessed the patient, and what must be done to remove it; and if the patient recovers under his treatment, it is believed that he has sent Banaspati into him to dispossess him of the persecuting goblin.

As an example of the strength and universality of the belief in spirits and in the power of medicine men to expel them, we will quote a few passages shewing how firmly the superstition has maintained its hold even in modern Greece, where the Christian priest (or *Popa*, as he is there called), is himself the sorcerer:—

"Many of the liturgies are performed under cover of night, and at the dark of the moon. A mother may be seen carrying a sickly child to church, that the priest may read an exorcism over it to drive away the demon which she thinks has possessed it: for this he receives twice as much as for a liturgy during the day. The priest again will be summoned by a farmer whose shed is infested by rats and mice, to exorcise the same: under an ancient olive with gnarled stem and creeping branches he will read the liturgy to St. Tryphon. . . . The priest has a cure for fever too. He writes on a scrap of paper, *Mother of god, divine miracle*. This he ties round the sufferer's neck with a red thread, and goes away with a fee in his pocket or with a basket of bread and figs on his arm."\* Another

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\* The practise of tying scraps of paper, inscribed with certain words, round the limbs of a patient, is common amongst Mahomedans in India. A case occurred lately in my own establishment. The gardener,

author writes as follows on the same subject :—"The priest, "who is called a Popa, would not make much of a living were it "not for the money he receives from the Greek woman or girl. "For instance, she has a sister, or a mother, or a cousin, or an "aunt, ill. Off she goes to the Popa, especially if he is in charge "of a holy shrine, where miracles are worked, and she buys a "candle of him at a good round price, lights it and prays for "the recovery of her relatives. Or she is going on a journey "and wishes it to be successful: what more natural than that "she shall go to the Popa: buy a candle, say a prayer, and "ask him to be kind enough to give her a drachm's worth of "intercession?\*" After reading such accounts we need not be surprised at the prevalence of witchcraft or sorcery in a more backward country like India. Here there is not a tribe or caste, whether Hindu or Mahommedan, which does not either produce or patronize men of the class of sorcerers. Amongst Hindus they are known by the name of the Siyokiá, Niyotia, Ojhá, or Junkwá. Amongst Mushéras the name is Naharu, so-called from the word "nahar," a horse. Hence "naharu" means one who is being ridden, one possessed and controlled by the goddess, and therefore able, through the help of the goddess, to expel the evil spirit.

The spirits which take possession of men in India are, or may be considered to be, of three different classes :—(1) The souls of dead relatives, male or female, whose funeral rites have been neglected, or who have died a violent or unnatural death, as by a fall from a tree, or by the jaws of a tiger, or by drowning, or by fire, or by poison, or in child-birth; for this last, too, is regarded as an unnatural kind of death. (2) The souls of the dead of some other family sent by that family to distress some one by way of enmity. (3) A host of goblins (*bhut* or *pret*) whose individual origin and history are not traceable. These have become traditional, and make up the stock in trade, so to speak, of Indian demonology; such as *churail*, the ghost of any woman who may have died in child-birth; Chamardokh, some Chamar slave or serf who has died of ill-treatment by his master; Birm Bhut, some Brahman who has been ill-treated or neglected in the hour of need; Ajiya Baital, the will o' the wisp, and many more. No country has ever more fully realized than India the doctrine of Thales, *κοσμος δαμονων πληρης*. Goblins or deities, (for

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a Hindu, had been bitten by a snake on the foot. The water-carrier, a Mahommedan, immediately tied all sorts of texts around his limbs and repeated certain prayers. The gardener attributed his recovery to this performance.

\* The first quotations are from *Rhodian Society*, MacMillan's Magazine, August 1885, p. 303. The second are from the *Pioneer*, dated 6th October 1887, a daily newspaper published in Upper India.



either name may be applied with equal correctness), people it at every point ; and there is no moment in a person's life in which some *bhut* or *pret* may not seize him. For cholera and small-pox the aid of the medicine man is not invoked : for the goddesses who inflict these maladies are too powerful to be dispossessed by any other goddess, whom the medicine man might inject into the patient. For other kinds of seizures he is expected to work a cure either through the deity (generally a goddess), whom he has made his own, or by disclosing the name and personality of the goblin and declaring what must be done to appease it.

Banaspati, as we must add before leaving her, has many characteristics in common with Káli or Durgá, the great goddess of Hindus ; and should be reckoned as one of the almost innumerable variations of this ubiquitous and many-named divinity. Banaspati, like Káli, is the goddess of life and death. She presides, like Káli, over child-birth. Mondays and Fridays are the days sacred to both. In the name, and by the power of these goddesses, evil spirits are cast out. By the Muasis and Gonds of Chutia Nagpur the goddess associated with Ghansám, in the Karm festival, is Káli herself, as Banaspati is in the same festival by Mushéras. Both goddesses delight in the blood of male victims, and especially of human victims. Banaspati is honoured with blood offerings from the ball of men's hands, just as Kali is by blood offerings from women's breasts. In the worship of Káli, even amongst the strictest Hindus, the Brahman does not act as priest ; but Brahmans may be among the worshippers, employing some low caste, unregenerate man, such as a Pasi, a Dom, or a Mushéra of the village jungle to go and sacrifice a cock or boar to her in his name. What distinguishes Banaspati from the other variations of Káli is her close connection with the forest. In this respect Banaspati resembles, but surpasses, Banki, the forest goddess of Birhors, Bandevi of Saharias, Surna Barhi of the Oraons, and Maburu of the Mundas. Among those Kolarian tribes which have taken largely to agriculture, and abandoned the less civilized life of the forester and hunter, the Sungod or the Earthgoddess holds as high a place as Banaspati does to Mushéras, and from a similar cause. But even among these "the grove deities are held responsible for the crops, and are especially honored at all the great agricultural festivals." Another observer has pointed out that when the "Gonds fell the wood "on a hill side\* for purposes of agriculture, they leave a little

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\* On the forest goddesses named in the text (except Bandevi of Saharias), see Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220, 257 and 188. On the responsibility attached to the Sylvan deities, see his remarks in p. 246, 186 and 188.

"clump to serve as a refuge for the elf or spirit whom they "have dislodged."\* Such facts confirm the explanation hazarded in an earlier part of this essay as to the foundation of the custom by which Mushéras in the plains, the known worshippers of Banaspati, are invited to dwell in the little patches of forest in the neighbourhood of Indian villages; why they are everywhere employed as field-watchers and guardians of the crops until the harvest is cut; and why they are invited to set fire to brickkilns and propitiate the dislodged Banaspati before doing so.

There are two goddesses immediately subordinate to Banaspati. One is Mohani (already described), who represents Banaspati in her character as enchantress, expeller of evil spirits. The other is Phulmati, a name designed to designate her as the goddess of fruits. Each has a worship peculiar to herself.

There are two more gods to whom we must allude before concluding: Bhairon, and Parihar or his equivalent Madáin.

Bhairon is the phallic deity to village Mushéras, as Ghansám is to the hillmen or Paháris. The story of Ghansám is unknown in the plains, where the Karm festival, with which Ghansám is associated, is not held. Bhairon is an inferior type of Shiva or Mahádev, the phallic deity of all classes of Hindus; though Bhairon is patronized equally with Shiva by several of the lowest castes. Mahádev rides a bull, and Bhairon a dog, whence the latter is sometimes called Swáswa, or "one whose horse is a dog." A little mud pillar, about a foot and a half high intended to represent a lingam, is put up in honor of Bhairon, as to Ghansám. The worship of Bhairon is habitual rather than periodical; and at most of the Mushéra huts or hamlets, in the neighbourhood of Indian villages, a Bhairon mud pillar may be seen.

Parihár, the god of wine, is known to both classes of Mushéras, but better known to hillmen than to those living in the plains where his place has to a large extent been taken by Madáin, the wine goddess, so familiarly known to the lowest castes of Hindus,—another of the great goddess-mothers who represent the indigenous, and to this day the most popular form of religion in India. Before drinking wine or rice-beer a man usually throws a few drops on the ground to Parihár or Madáin, just as Hindus of the confectioner caste (Halwai), in the process of extracting juice from the sugar-cane, throw a few drops against the mud wall of the sugar-press to Ganesh, the god of luck, and men of the physician caste (Baidya) throw

\* The observer is Captain Forsyth. The words in the text are quoted from Sir A. Lyall's Asiatic Studies, p. 16, where Captain Forsyth's remarks are alluded to in a foot note.



a drop or two of medicine to Dhanwantari, the god of healing. No image or emblem is put up in honor of either Parihár or Madáin. The wine itself is the deity; and there are few men who are bold enough to take a false oath holding a cup of wine in their hands.

One peculiarity to be noticed in connection with the worship of all these divinities is the absence of images and temples. The only instance of an idol is the little stone image of Mohani which the medicine man keeps by him as the talisman through which he induces her to intercede for him with Banaspati. The lingam erected to Ghansám or Bhairon is a mere mud-made cone, put up in the open air, and subject to being washed away by the rain; very different from the polished and consecrated stone emblem erected to Mahádev under the solid dome of a painted Shivite temple. Banaspati, the supreme deity, has no better sanctuary than a clump of bamboos, at the time when her presence is invoked. The only altar set apart for depositing offerings to any god or goddess is a little mud-made square raised an inch or two above the level and smeared with water. The religion of Mushéras is in too primitive a stage (and the same may be said of most of the other hill tribes)\* to require the accessories of idols or temples. To a people who worship such objects as trees, fire, rivers, and the tribal tool, a clump of bamboos gives a better idea of the presence of Banaspati than could be furnished by a representative idol.†

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\* Colonel Dalton, in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, points out that there are no images or idols among the Mundas, Hos, and Bhumij, p. 485; none among the Khairwars or Cherus, p. 126; none among the Parheyas, p. 131; nothing but a split bamboo or a round piece of wood among the Birhors, p. 220; nothing but a stone, or a wooden post, or a lump of earth among the Oraons, p. 256; nothing but a black stone, or a bel tree, or a mukmum tree, or wooden images, which are discarded each year, among the Malers, p. 268, 271; nothing but stones or some object like a battle-axe or iron chain among the Gonds, p. 281. The religion among all the hill tribes described by Colonel Dalton is chiefly one of sacred hills and sacred groves.

† If we carry the comparison into other parts of the world, we learn from Mrs. Gordon Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, Vol. II, that "both Maoris and Fijians are remarkable for an almost total absence of any outward and visible representation of the gods whom they worship," p. 191-2. Again we are told by Mr. Johnston, *The River Congo*, p. 158, that "when he mentioned the word for *idol*, and pointed to certain logs shaped like men, the men and women gathered round and laughed contemptuously." From Forbes' *British Burma*, p. 271, we learn concerning the wild tribes of British Burma, "that they have no images, nor, properly speaking, any visible object of worship." From Miss Arabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 94-5, we learn that the Aino worship natural objects themselves. "attaching a vague sacredness to trees, rivers, rocks, and mountains, and vague notions of power for good

Another peculiarity in connection with the Mushéra rites (and the same remark applies to the Kol tribes generally) is that the head of the victim is the part offered to the deity. This is always left on the altar with as much blood as can be poured on it: the carcass is then taken away and divided among the sacrificers. In the days of human sacrifice, it was the head of the man or boy which was placed on the altar of the goddess. Makará, the Cheru king and father of Deosi, after slaying Sánwar, the Ahir, made a great point of cutting off his head and carrying it away to Pipri and offering it to his guardian goddess, Behiya, to whom he owed, as he thought, his victory.

The oaths and ordeals in force in the tribe are necessarily of the same character as the religion, of which they form a part. As we have shewn already, Mushéras take oaths in the name of Banaspati, in the name of Mahábir, and on a tiger's skin in the name of Bhágwat. These oaths are all much dreaded. Oaths are also taken on wine, in the name of Parihár in the hills, and in that of Madáin in the plains.

The ordeal common to all branches of the tribe is the water test,—evidently a purely aboriginal custom, like that of river-worship. Whether the river be the Son or the Ganges, or any of their tributaries, or in fact any other river on which they are wont to depend for the life-giving water, the process is the same. The question of guilt or innocence is decided by throwing the two disputants into the stream. The man who rises first is declared guilty, because the pure element hastens to throw him up and discard him, while it retains the innocent man until he rises of his own accord to take breath. This water-ordeal is of wide prevalence among all the un-Brahmanized tribes, by whom rivers are regarded as sacred. The Brahmanized castes have given greater prominence to the various forms of ordeal by fire.

The reader will have gathered from the foregoing account what are the main points of difference between the religion of village Mushéras and that of hill Mushéras. With much that is common to both, there are points in which the creed of the former slides gradually into that of Hindus. Both have the same veneration for fire when it is drawn out of wood by friction, for the tribal tool, for the tribal ancestor (Deosi), for the ape, for the aboriginal ape-hero (Mahábir), and for Banaspati, the great mother of the world. But village

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“or evil to the sea, the forest, the fire, and the sun and moon:” and that the only outward symbols ever put up are “wands and posts of peeled wood, whittled nearly to the top, from which the pendant shavings fall down in white curls.” These last tokens are very similar to those used by the tribes of Central India.



Mushéras have substituted the pipal tree for the deodár, the Ganges river for the Son, a vague worship of Suraj (the sun), for an equally vague worship of Indra (the sky), the phallic Bhairon for the phallic Ghansám, the wine goddess Madáin for the wine god Parihár, the Dehati Bhuts or traditional village goblins and vampires of Hindus for those of their ancestral hills and forests, and the use of brass cymbals in their religious music for that of the *kartúl* or wooden hand-clapper. They have given up Bhágwat, whose worship is not now necessary in the plains where tigers are scarce; and they have acquired the worship of the cow and of Káli, Káli herself being merely Banaspati in another form. The most striking approach to Hinduism that I have met with was that of a Mushéra *bhagat*, that is, one who makes it the first article of his creed to abstain from flesh-diet in any form and from the use of fermented liquors, the widest possible departure from the original instincts of the tribe whose very name Mushéra signifies "flesh-hunter." There are several tribes in the hills who use an ant-hill as an altar for worshipping the sky or sun. Mushéras in the plains use the ant-hill as an altar floor for worshipping snakes, as as Hindu's do.\* Thus by a few changes of name, place, and surroundings the aboriginal creeds melt imperceptibly into the lower grades of Hinduism. There is no saying where the one begins or the other ends. For Hinduism itself is not a single creed, but a medley of many creeds, drawn partly from Aryo-Vedic and partly from aboriginal sources; worked up into a system or the appearance of one; dovetailed into Vedic rites and divinities, whose names have been preserved without their nature; decorated with idols, temples, festivals, and processions; and set forth in a verbose and high-sounding literature which the Brahman who constructed it will allow no one but himself to interpret.

The Hindu religion goes with the Hindi language, just as the Roman type of Christianity goes with the Latin or neo-Latin tongues. Mushéras living in the plains have long forgotten their ancestral speech; yet their adoption of Hinduism is still very slight, less pronounced even than that of Pásis and Chamárs: for they seldom or never take any part in the general religious gatherings, such as the Holi, the Ram Lilá, &c., in which all Hindus, of whatever caste, are permitted to join; and they do not even live within the precincts of a Hindu village community. In India a man's religious, and with that his social, status depends largely upon the extent

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\* This worship of snakes is kept by Hindus periodically as the festival of Nágpanchami. The worshipper bathes that day, and brings milk and parched rice to an ant-hill, where he bows his head to the earth, believing that the ant-hill is the top covering to the nether world of snakes.

to which he binds himself in the matter of eating and drinking. Mushéras will eat the leavings even of Pásis and Chamárs, (excepting in the case of cooked rice), and consequently in the eyes of the general community they rank below Pásis and Chamárs, and are regarded as outside the pale of Hindu caste and of the Hindu religion. Socially, therefore, Mushéras are at the very bottom of the scale, and take rank with such very degraded and despised tribes as Kanjars, Nats, and Doms, although in their manners and private life they are more gentle, and in many other respects, superior. There is no tribe, however, so degraded that Hinduism cannot find a niche for it. A Mushéra can act as priest of Sitalá, the goddess of small-pox, and for Mari Pari, the goddess of cholera, when no other man can be found to accept the offerings made to them; and we have shewn already (in our account of the industries of the tribe) that no one but a Mushéra can be employed by higher caste Hindus to propitiate Banaspati at the lighting of brickkilns or to protect the rising crops from the elfs and goblins who frequent the fields at midnight.

I will conclude with a brief sketch of what I saw at a Mushéra hamlet near a village called Arauli, within 10 miles of Fyzabad, the second city and once the capital of Oudh. This hamlet contained within itself many of the main characteristics, religious, industrial, and domestic, peculiar to the tribe, and presented at a single glance what it has taken many pages to describe.

The hamlet consisted of 3 or 4 huts, with a population of some 12 persons; a larger aggregate than is usually met with in this broken tribe. The height of the walls of each hovel did not exceed 3 feet; and they were made of puddled clay. The inmates crawled in and out at the openings on all fours, like sheep or goats. The huts stood to each other something in the form of a square, with one side open. In the middle was a kind of nest made only of twigs and branches exactly similar to what may be seen in the hills of Mirzapur, the original home of the tribe. Against one side of this leafy hovel was seated the granddam of the hamlet, who in old days would perhaps have been killed as a witch. She was basking in the sun, with her knees doubled up under her chin, and folds of long coarse hair falling down over her wrinkled face and withered neck and shoulders. Against another side was seated a younger woman, nursing a child about 2 years old, who gave proof of her Mushéra lineage by not wearing bangles on her wrists, as married women invariably do amongst Hindus. The hamlet stood at the extreme point of a large *dhák* jungle, one arm of which ran out into a wheat field like an arm of land into the sea. Two sides of the hamlet were surrounded by the jungle, and



the other two by the wheat field ; and nothing but the thatched roofs of the huts could be seen above the full-grown wheat. The headman of the hamlet had charge of the surrounding crops as night watcher, protecting them not merely from men and animals, but from the unseen spirits of the air, the dislodged sylvan elfs whom none but the Mushéra could propitiate. In the corner of the main hut inhabited by the headman, was the *chauri* or little mud altar to Banaspati, on which he occasionally sheds drops of blood from the ball of his own finger. On the ground outside the hut were lying two *gahdúlas* or spade blades, facsimiles of the specimen which I had procured sometime before from the Mirzapur hills. In a corner where two huts met was a heap of husks of the *kutki* grain, to which Mushéras are so much attached. Hard by was the millstone in which the grain was husked—an upper stone without a nether one. In another corner there was a heap of bulbs, which the headman called *gut*, and of which the virtues and even the existence (he said) were known only to men of his own tribe.\* Near at hand was a specimen of the plant itself, a creeper growing up a dhák tree. Standing in a row against the wall of one of the huts were 7 or 8 earthenware pots, all of which, being more or less broken, had been discarded by the people of the neighbouring village. In one or two of these was a pile of seed preserved in sand, intended to be prepared some day for sale as medicine. Fixed in the sides of the leaf hut used by the woman and child were several feathers of a peacock which, as the granddam explained, were a safeguard against evil spirits (*bhut*) and against that evil bird of the night called *muá*, whose cry summons men to death. At the side of the same hut I observed the shell and skeleton of a small river tortoise. On the roof I noticed a pile of leaf plates, very neatly stitched together, which had been made that day, as the headman told me, for the Thákurain or landlady of the estate on which they were living. He admitted the rights of this Thákurain to the wheat-fields ; but contended with much warmth that the dhák jungle was his own. Close outside the enclosure, and almost concealed in the wheat crop, was the shrine of the hamlet. This consisted of a small mound of mud, the phallic emblem to Bhairon, supported on either side by a discarded

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\* They keep a stock of such bulbs by them in case other food should run short. Each bulb is cut into one or two pieces and soaked for some five days in order to take out the bitter taste. Thus soaked, it is said to be useful as food ; and the juice that comes out of it into the water is useful, they say, as a cure for pain in the back. I took away a specimen of the bulb with me, and placed it in a drawer, which I happened to leave slightly open. In the rainy season the bulb sprouted inside the drawer and sent a stalk outside of it.

elephant (made of burnt brick) intended for Kálí. These figures were surrounded by purple tulsi plants sacred to Vishnu and by datura plants with seeds in full pod, whose maddening juice is beloved by Shiva. Under one of the elephants lay a little drum made of dried lizard skin, and furnished with minute brass cymbals, which tinkled whenever the drum was shaken. A little further off was a well, peopled with frogs, used by other men for watering their cattle, but by the Mushéras for quenching their own thirst. By the side of the well was a banyan tree, under whose shade the camels of the landlady were tethered at night. Up the tree in a fork where the trunk diverged was a heap of straw where the Mushéra in charge of the camel slept or sat at night. Further away in the jungle was the shell of a brickkiln, which had been lighted by the Mushéra headman after making an offering in newly made fire to his patron goddess Banaspati.\* He took me further into the jungle, and shewed me a nest of the dhusru bee, that strange little black bee, very much smaller than the ordinary fly, but with wonderful capacities for making honey. On our way in the jungle we came upon a herd of cattle tended by one or two Ahirs, the old enemies of the tribe, but now their neighbours and friends. He told me that he collected medicines for the village druggist; and he convinced me of his knowledge of herbs by pointing to a dead stalk under which he said were roots whose juice was a remedy for fever. After saying this he dug up the ground, and produced some six or eight thin wiry roots of a glistening whiteness. He told me that he worshipped the *gahdála* in the Diwali season, but never joined in the Holi or other festivals or went near a Hindu temple. He had heard of Deosi, and of the battles which Deosi and his father Makará once fought with Ahirs; but he added that such things were better known to men living in the hills. When questioned about his ancestry, he told me that he was of the Savari lineage, thus corroborating the testimony which I had received from other Mushéras in quite another district; and that his ancestors were once kings and masters of the forest. I felt some veneration for a man who could repeat such ancient traditions regarding the fallen fortunes of his race. Soon afterwards I saw him hobbling towards me half stupified with the bhang (hemp) which he had purchased out of the reward I had given him.

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\* A brickkiln in Upper India is built in the form of a solid oblong, through which openings are made at the base for the insertion of fuel. In order to shut in the heat, mud is piled all round the sides. When the bricks have been taken out, the mud walls remain, and these constitute the shell referred to in the text.



The following is a vocabulary of such Mushéra words as I have been able to collect. Very few, if any, of these words are now known is the plains:—

ENGLISH.	MUSHERA.	ENGLISH.	MUSHERA.
Obsequies.	Ut.	Mother.	Dudhali.
Fire place.	Anka.	Runner.	Dhorai.
Blessing.	Imiriyá.	Palanquin.	Dánrí.
Sent.	Berlis.	Father.	Dokar.
Sickness.	Barri.	Obsequies.	Ram.
Sick person.	Barro.	Wife.	Rangai.
Seed.	Bengá.	Conjugal delight.	Ráso.
Where.	Birmis.	Father in-law.	Ráwat.
Music.	Bagro.	Mother in-law.	Routáin.
Musician.	Bagariyá.	Being.	Ramí.
Girl.	Bori.	Shout.	Ruruf.
Boy.	Boro.	Uncooked rice.	Súpar.
To eat.	Boglo.	In the power of.	Sag.
Take.	Bal.	Having done.	Kuiya.
Mouth.	Bálar.	Pulse.	Kelái.
The elder brother of a husband.	Bhasur.	Bed of flowers.	Kahuá.
The wife of the elder brother of husband.	Bhasuri.	Hurrah.	Kú.
Here.	Bhú.	Grazer of cattle.	Kirhuliya.
Sister.	Bheoni.	Dancing woman.	Kero.
Younger sister.	Páyal.	A kind of grain.	Kutki.
Younger brother.	Pailo.	Wine.	Kaáv.
Boiled rice.	Pích.	Skin.	Kenchul.
From.	Potis.	Ghost.	Katmal.
Water.	Popal.	Do or did.	Kur.
Eat thou.	Pokpá.	Again.	Kimal.
Kindness.	Pásas.	Lizard.	Khunkhar.
On.	Pallo.	Boy.	Gídar.
Bird.	Kurri.	Turn aside.	Girwat.
Tamarind.	Titlí.	Red pepper.	Lanká.
Mat.	Tálgachh.	A kind of fish.	Letámis.
Come thou.	Timro.	Gun.	Lásá.
Came.	Timran.	Younger brother of a husband.	Lagwár.
Boat.	Tarani.	Wife of a younger brother of a husband.	Lagwárin.
Boar.	Taráú.	King or prince.	Madar.
Groom.	Thanhwár	World.	Magnú.
Give.	Thambho.	Court or palace.	Madariyá.
Gone or went.	Taulis.	Fruit.	Mahlu.
Said.	Tiplo.	Honey.	Matri.
Dancing.	Téplis.	In, under.	Mahrin.
Cocoon.	Takí.	Sweet.	Metal.
Kind of fish.	Jigrí.	Tortoise.	Mautha.
Boy.	Jigdar.	Jungle.	Mahrá.
See.	Chimlo.	Mountains.	Maunrhá.
Saw.	Chimlan.	He-goat.	Molhni.
Flour.	Chún.	She-goat.	Molhné.
Worshipper.	Chero.	Horse.	Nahar.
Bridegroom.	Chimla.	Ridden.	Naharu.
Bride.	Chimí.	Groom.	Paitá.

ENGLISH.	MUSHERAS.	ENGLISH.	MUSHERAS.
Husband's sister.	Namri.	Explained.	Nirjas.
Husband of husband's sister.	Namrin.	His or our.	Hu-i-yá,
Brother-in-law.	Napiá.	Town.	Hadariya.
Wife of brother-in-law.	Naplá Rangwi.	Village.	Hadar.
Sister-in-law.	Napli.	Thou.	Hit.
Silent.	Niyai.	To thee.	Hito.
Made.	Niberi.	Slayer.	Haunk.
		Dead person.	Hutmú.

JOHN C. NESFIELD.



## ART. II.—CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INDIA.

[Continued from January 1888, No. CLXXI, p. 202]

### CHAPTER V.

ON the 1st of the month Safar 932 of the Hijra (corresponding with the close of the month of October 1525 A. D.) Babar despatched his army for the final subjugation of India. After passing the height called Yok-Langah, he pitched his camp to the west of the Yakub stream, and on the second day reached Badam-Chakh-Makh.

On the 8th of the same month, Babar himself reached Gandamak, and on the next day he arrived at Bagh-i-Wafa, where he made a long halt, pending the arrival of his other troops under the personal command of his son, Humayun. On the 17th of the same month Humayun arrived, and that very night the united forces moved onwards and pitched camp in a garden between Sultanpur and Khwaja-Rustam.

On the 28th of the month above named, Babar's army reached the banks of the Indus, and on the 1st of the month Rabi-ul-Ahwal it crossed first the Indus and then the Hurroo\*, on the banks of which river camp was pitched.

In order that there might be no chance of grain running short, Babar marched his army thence towards Sialkote † by the road which skirts the hills. The Jhelum was crossed by a ford just above the town of that name. Two days' march brought his troops to the banks of the Chenab and so to Sialkote. Babar's route hence lay through Perserur, Kilanur and the passage of the Beas river, opposite Kanuakhin, and so on to the castle of Miluat to which he laid siege. After possessing himself of this point and of all the fortified places in the adjacent hills, Babar pitched his camp at Rupar on the Sutlej. His next halting place was at Kermala, opposite Sirind. Two more marches brought his troops to the banks of the rivers Banur ‡ and Sanur where camp was pitched. Here Babar

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\* Speaking generally, the whole of the rivers of northern Afghanistan are very difficult to cross, excepting reaches of the Kama and Kabul rivers. But Babar has demonstrated to us that by means of light and specially constructed rafts, troops can be rapidly moved from one place to another, even across rapid mountain streams. By means, therefore, of steam launches, manned by bold crews, the river Kabul and its feeders could be made to play a great part in war operations, for such launches could be moved rapidly over the many important strategical points of the Kabul valley and might even make their way to the Indus.—*Author*.

† Sialkote lies on the Chenab from 40 to 50 *versts* (30 to 35 miles) to the east of the town of Wazirabad.—*Author*.

‡ On Russian maps, Banur. It lies to the north of Umballa.—*Author*.

received intelligence that the Emperor of India was to the north of Delhi \* and was advancing against him, accompanied by Firuza, the military governor of Hissar.† On receipt of this news Babar pushed forward two advanced guards, one in the direction of the enemy's main body, the other towards Hissar.

On the 13th of the month Jamali-ul-Ahwal, Babar's army marched from Umballa and pitched camp on the border of a lake. Here he made his dispositions for a forward movement. The right wing of his army, reinforced by a portion of his centre, he placed under the command of his son Humayun, with orders to operate in the direction of the enemy who was advancing from Hissar. Humayun having sent out a weak reconnoitring party, consisting of 150 vedettes, these soon found themselves in a fierce struggle with the Indian forces, but Humayun rapidly pushed forward his main body and the Indians immediately withdrew with a loss of 100 killed and the same number of prisoners. For this achievement Humayun, who was at this time a youth of 18, was handsomely rewarded.

Babar now advanced in force towards Shahabad where he learnt that the Emperor of India was moving slowly forward, making marches of from 3 to 6 *versts*, (2 to 4) miles only, and then halting at each place for from two to three days. Babar accordingly made a double march and pitched his camp on the banks of the Jumna. Thence having made two more marches down the river, he received intelligence that the Emperor Ibrahim with a force numbering 6,000 men had crossed to Mayan-i-Doab. Babar now directed his left wing to cross the river, and attack the enemy. At dawn on the day following the Indians appeared in sight. The result of the engagement which followed was that Babar's left wing reached the heights on which the Indian Emperor's camp was pitched, and killed the officer in command of the enemy's forces besides capturing another general. Babar now prepared to attack the enemy's main body, but an inspection of his forces convinced him of his great numerical inferiority. He accordingly convened a council of his chief officers, and at this it was decided to take up a defensive position at Panipat, where the advance of the enemy should be awaited and battle given at a point least advantageous to the Indian forces. Eight days having elapsed and there being no signs of the enemy's advance, Babar *decided upon making a night attack* with a force of from 4 to 5,000 men, but the troops detailed for this service not having mutually agreed upon a common

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\* Between Delhi and Bunur the distance is approximately 220 *versts* (150 miles).—*Author*.

† Hissar lies 130 *versts* (90 miles) to the west of Delhi, and 170 *versts* (113 miles) from Umballa.—*Author*.



rendezvous, the movement was carried out in confusion, and so the attackers found themselves at a place that was not favourable for the success of such an enterprise. Though the movement was not a successful one, Babar's troops retired fighting in perfect order and without suffering any loss.

On the 8th of the month Radjab, Babar received news from the front that the Indian forces were approaching in great strength. Accordingly he made the following dispositions for a battle. His right wing was under the command of his son, Humayun, his left under that of Muhammad-Sultan-Mirza, the command of his centre, consisting of the right and left divisions, was entrusted to Chin-Timur. Khozreff-Keikuntash commanded the advanced guard and Abdul-Azisu-Mirakhur had charge of the reserve. At either flank of the two wings, bodies of Mongols were placed, with the object of carrying out a turning movement. The Indian army now rapidly advanced, but as the distance between the opposing forces lessened, the Indians on being confronted by Babar's well-disposed battle array perceptibly wavered. This display of indecision did not escape the piercing glance of their opponent, who directed his two flanking parties to envelope his enemy's rear, whilst he himself led his right and left wings forward to make a frontal attack. This flanking manœuvre was carried out in a very brilliant manner, and at the same time the *swivel-guns*, which were in the centre of Babar's line of advance, made some very successful shooting, whilst the commander of the artillery posted on the left centre, opened a murderous fire from his *harnessed guns*. As the Indians were unacquainted with artillery fire, the battle soon went against them, for by this time, at nearly all points, Babar's troops had assumed the offensive.\* The Indians now made an attack against both of Babar's flanks, but being met by a fierce fusillade, they were thrown back in great disorder on their own centre, and got into such complete confusion that they could move neither forward nor backward. The fight raged from early morn till noon when the Indian army was finally routed, leaving heaps of their dead on the battle field. Round the corpse of the Emperor Ibrahim there lay 6,000 of his slain followers, whilst in other parts of the field were counted the bodies of 16,000 of his soldiers. Babar, who was not yet aware that the Emperor had fallen, moved forward *en masse* and completed the rout of his enemy by a last pursuit. This decisive engagement opened out to him the way to the throne of the Indian Empire.

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\* Babar's army was nothing like as numerous as the Emperor Ibrahim's, but it was more skilfully handled. The several bodies of the Indian forces, in fact, got in each other's way, and so allowed of their being out-flanked.—*Author*.

Babar at once directed his son Humayun to make a rapid march on Agra for the purpose of securing the treasury of the defeated and slain Emperor, and he at the same time despatched another force to secure the fort of Delhi.

Babar himself marched on Delhi which he reached on the evening of the 3rd day. The city having been occupied, everything of value was placed under the seal of the conqueror. The second day, being a Friday, the *Khutba* was pronounced in the name of the Emperor Babar, who thus became the recognised sovereign of the throne of Delhi.

After a halt of four days, the newly proclaimed Emperor of India proceeded towards Agra by forced marches, and within a week this place was occupied without opposition. Having reached the position of Emperor of India, Babar now practised moderation. Thus, the mother of the fallen Emperor received a grant of land bringing in a revenue of 8 *lakhs* of rupees, and on each of Ibrahim's nobles were bestowed similar proportionate marks of Babar's clemency.

For the final consolidation of his sovereignty there remained for Babar to subdue the famous Hindu potentate Rana-Sanka, a personage who had hitherto contrived to hold himself independent of Mussalman supremacy.

The founder of the dynasty in India, known as that of the Great Mogol, gives in his Memoirs the following brief history of his subjugation of Hindustan:—

"From the year 910 of the Hijra (corresponding with years 1504-1505 of Christian reckoning) when I possessed myself of the Kabul principality up to the time when there occurred the events of which I am now speaking, I *never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan*, but I never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking this task owing to many and various causes. But at last in the year 925 of the Hijra (corresponding with the year 1,519 A. D.) I set out at the head of my troops, and between that year and the year 932 (1525-1526 A. D.) *I entered India at the head of my army five times in the course of seven or eight years*. In the course of my fifth campaign against India in which I overthrew Sultan Ibrahim and possessed myself of his sovereignty, though I then had a stronger army than on any of the previous occasions, even this army did not exceed a strength of 12,000 men including my suite, camp followers, and personal attendants. And although the principalities of Badakhshan, Kunduz, Kabul and Kandahar were under my rule, I not only could not draw therefrom any considerable aid of any kind, but I was on the contrary often compelled to come to the assistance of those possessions when they were beset by my enemies. Thus the whole tract of country



known as Mawarannagar was under the rule of Khans and of Sultans who could dispose of 100,000 armed men, and who were all my implacable enemies. The whole of Hindustan between Bahra and Behar was under the Afghan yoke, and yet the sovereign of this vast stretch of country could only collect an army of 500,000 men. Moreover, as many of his nobles were at the time in arms against him, his available forces did not exceed 100,000. It was under such circumstances, then, that after placing my trust in God, I left in my rear 100,000 of an enemy so terrible as the Uzbaks, and went to measure my strength with a sovereign like Sultan Ibrahim."

From the time of the brilliant campaigns against India, carried out by the great leaders of Asia, Mahmud of Ghazni, and Muhammad Ghuri, the richest portions of the Indian peninsula fell under Mussulman dominion. We have already made mention that rich India has never constituted one undivided sovereignty, or, if under the rule of sovereigns possessed of great military and political talent, the greater portion of the peninsula has been temporarily united under one sceptre, it has always happened that, after the death of such sovereigns, the vast monarchies which they have built up, have split up into several states, all more or less independent of each other. Thus when Babar made his appearance on the Indian peninsula, there were five large Mussalman and two Hindu states, not including numerous petty independent principalities devoid of any special political importance. Of the Mussulman sovereignties the most powerful was the *monarchy of the Afghans*, which comprised the Panjab, Delhi, Agra and Oude (the Poorab). The sovereign of this monarchy bore the title of the Emperor of India. The second monarchy was that of *Gujerat*, of which Sultan Muzaffar was the king. The third monarchy was that of the Deccan. The fourth monarchy was that of Malwa, of which Sultan Mahmud was the head. The fifth Mussulman monarchy was that of *Bengal*. Of the Hindu sovereigns the two most notable were the Rajah of Bijnagar and Rana-Sanka.

Thus the fact of India being sub-divided into numerous separate sovereignties when Babar undertook his campaigns against her, of course considerably facilitated his task of conquest. Babar's principal blow was directed against the Afghan monarchy, at the head of which was the Emperor Ibrahim II. Here the circumstances attending a civil war were taken advantage of by Babar, who made a rapid advance on the Punjab. He took Lahore and then marched upon Debalpur and Jalandar, situated at a distance of 120 *versts* (80 miles) to the east of Lahore. Here he formed the resolution of finally annexing the empire of Ibrahim II,

and for this purpose he returned to Kabul where he equipped a fresh army. At the head of fresh forces the Great Mogol crossed the Indus in the year 1525 A. D. A battle at Panipat decided the fate of Ibrahim II., for here he was defeated, Delhi and Agra were occupied in succession, and Babar was proclaimed Emperor of India. But with the exception of Delhi and Agra, all the other fortified points of Ibrahim's Empire were unwilling to accept the new rule, and their garrisons, having shut themselves up, prepared for defence. The strongest forts were moreover in the hands of Babar's enemies. Thus there were Dholepore, distant 30 *versts* (20 miles) to the south of Agra; (2) Biana 70 *versts* (46  $\frac{2}{3}$  miles) to the west of Agra; (3) Gwalior 100 *versts* (66  $\frac{2}{3}$ rd miles) to the south of Agra; (4) Etawah 105 *versts* (70 miles) to the south-east of Agra; (5) Sunbul 180 *versts* (120 miles) to the north of Agra; (6) Kalpee 200 *versts* (133  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd miles) to the south-east of Delhi. Moreover, Hassan-Khan the ruler of Mewat, to the north-west of Agra, was especially antagonistic to Babar's dominion.

Babar therefore despatched the Mullah Apak, the chief of the Orakzai tribe of Afghans, with a conciliatory letter addressed to the officers and soldiers of Ibrahim's troops comprising the garrison of fort Koel, 80 *versts* (53  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd miles) to the north-east of Agra, and the result of this letter was that 3,000 men joined the standards of the new Emperor. Babar, indeed, used every endeavour to draw to his side persons who played an important part under Ibrahim II. and his exertions to this end were often crowned with success.

Meanwhile Babar was very much exercised about the attitude taken up by the powerful Hindu sovereign, Rana-Sanka. It should be stated that Rana-Sanka, on Babar's entering India, had sent several messengers to him with declarations of friendship and promises that if Babar's army of invasion could get as far as Delhi, he would join it at Agra. But Rana-Sanka never fulfilled his promise, and when Babar occupied both Delhi and Agra he laid siege to the fort of Kandar which he took. He thereupon shewed that he was no ally of the Great Mogol, but his enemy, with whom Babar would have to reckon in a struggle for supremacy.

At this very time Babar's sworn enemies, the warlike Uz-baks, were making fresh conquests to the west. Thus they captured Merv, Sarakhs, Meshad and other towns of Khorassan.

Whilst Babar was annexing places in the north-west of India, changes were taking place in Gujerat which had a powerful influence on the fate of this Muhammadan State. Muzaffar died, and his son Bahadur succeeded to the throne. The new sovereign was known as being of a harsh nature,



for he slew many of the leading men who had outlived his father, "and shewed himself," to quote Babar's words, "a bloodthirsty young man without conscience and without shame."

Babar now began to actively busy himself in preparations for a campaign against Rana-Sanka. He first of all set about gaining possession of the posts in the neighbourhood of Agra and especially of Biani. He then ordered a brass cannon of large calibre to be cast which, on being experimented with, *was found to have a range of 1,600 paces*. But by the exercise of prudence, Babar gained the deep respect of his Mussalman foes, and so obtained possession of the forts which he coveted. There remained then only the task of crushing Rana-Sanka, after which he could count upon the firm consolidation of his rule over his Indian Empire.

Near Fatehpur-Sikri a reconnaissance party of Babar's, numbering some 1,500 men, fell almost entirely into the hands of Rana-Sanka's scouts, and this occurrence augured very badly for the ultimate chances of victory on the side of the invading army. On the 9th day of the month Jamali-Ul-Akhir, or the day of the Nauroz, Babar's army moved forward in order of battle with right, centre and left wings. As soon as Rana-Sanka's army perceived that its enemy had left camp, it also moved forward. The fiery Babar was extremely cautious at the decisive moment, and was not disposed on this occasion to open the battle, and so after placing his artillery in position, he directed his troops to remain on the defensive. His position was strongly defended: ditches were dug, *and all approaches were blocked*. The next day an advance was made to a fresh position about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *versts* ( $3\frac{2}{3}$  miles) further on, and this was also strengthened. These precautions were necessary, because of the great numerical superiority of Rana-Sanka's army. Babar in his Memoirs makes no mention of the strength of his own army, but he minutely describes the composition and strength of his opponent's forces. Thus he tells us that Rana-Sanka placed on the field of battle 205,000 men; 100,000 being under his own personal command, and 105,000 under the command of his allies, including 10,000 men led by Sikandar, son of the late Emperor of India, Ibrahim II. The ruler of Mewat was also amongst the number of Rana-Sanka's allies.

Babar's position rested on the neighbourhood of Karma and Biani, being a little more than 5 *versts* ( $3\frac{1}{3}$  miles) distant from the enemy. In front of the centre of the army was placed a line of wagons, between which the artillery and infantry were drawn up. The infantry had percussion muskets. Babar remained with the *centre*. On the right of Babar was Chin-Timur-Sultan, one of his best generals, and behind him

were seven Begs. To the left of Babar was Sultan-Belu-Lodi and five principal Begs with their retinue. The *right wing* of the army was commanded by Babar's son, Humayun. The *left wing* was under the command of Sayid-Mehdi-Khwaja. On the outer flank of the right wing were posted two separate detachments of Mongols, who were directed to make a turning movement round the enemy's left flank. The same disposition was made on the outer flank of Babar's left wing. Both these flanking parties were made up from men composing Babar's personal escort.

As soon as all his troops had taken up the positions which they were to occupy, Babar sent his orderlies and aides-de-camp with his orders and instructions. Thus he directed that no one should dare, without his especial sanction, to meddle with the conduct of the battle which he would direct in person. The wary commander anticipated an attack, and so it proved, for Rana-Sanka hurled his entire army on his enemy and the battle soon raged. The left wing of the Hindus firecely attacked the Mussalman right, to the aid of which Babar immediately sent a portion of his right centre division under the command of Chin-Timur-Sultan. This movement was successfully carried out, and the Hindu attack in this direction was beaten back. The artillery and the musketeers placed behind the line of wagons opened a murderous fire upon the enemy, but by this time the Mussalman right wing had lost a considerable proportion of its strength, and so Babar had gradually to move to its support a portion of his right centre division. The Hindu right wing had several times thrown itself on the Mussalman left wing, but on being met each time with a fierce fusillade, had fallen back. Babar now sent fresh troops to join his left flanking party which, thereupon, succeeded in getting to the enemy's rear. In spite of this, however, the Hindus continued to obstinately attack the Mussalman left wing, so that Babar was obliged to send to it a portion of his left centre division. In the very height of the battle, the Emperor resolved to extend the guard troops of his centre to the right and left as a reinforcement to both his wings, and to clear the way for the guns and muskets in his centre. These fresh troops made a furious charge on the Hindus, whilst at the same time the artillery opened a hotter fire on the dense masses of the enemy. As Rana-Sanka's army had neither guns nor muskets, the use of fire-arms on it had a terrible effect, since his men found that even their coats-of-mail were pierced by the Mussulman missiles. Babar now directed a general advance, for his right and left wings had succeeded in driving back the enemy's wings upon his centre, and therefore the Hindus



were trampling each other down and were crowded into a dense mass. But in their desire to sell their lives as dearly as possible, they again threw themselves forward, and the attack of their left wing was so impetuous, that it seemed for a moment as though it would succeed, but on being met by a perfect storm of bullets the ranks of the Hindus were finally broken. This was the final effort of Rana-Sanka's troops, who, now losing all fighting formation, began to retreat. A terrible slaughter followed, but still the Hindus were enabled to halt their main body at a distance of only 6 *versts* (4 miles) from the battle-field. Babar's troops returned the same evening to their own position. Rana-Sanka's loss was enormous, and amongst the slain was the ruler of Mewat. The next day the Hindus continued their retreat, and Babar advancing from the battle-field reached the fort of Biani in three marches. Right up to this fort and even as far as Ulwar and Mewat, the road was strewn with the corpses of Hindus and of the Mussalman allies of Rana-Sanka. It was thus apparent that Babar's enemy had suffered at his hands a terrible defeat. Rana-Sanka's overthrow took place in the year 1527 A. D.

The position of the Great Mogol was now considerably strengthened and he, as the conqueror of Sultan Ibrahim II. and of Rana-Sanka, was now able to turn his full attention to the setting up of an administration in his newly acquired provinces. To enable him, however, to fully carry out this programme, it was necessary that he should obtain possession of the strong fort of Chanderi, situated at a distance of 241 *versts* (160 miles) from Agra. This fort was at this time in the hands of Mendin-Bao, and the garrison comprised from 4,000 to 5,000 men. The route between Agra and Chanderi was as follows: Jhalessar, 8 *versts* ( $5 \frac{1}{3}$  miles); Armar, and by the Jumna to Chanduar; Kenar (ford); Ketchua; Barhanpur river; Chanderi 8 *versts* ( $5 \frac{1}{3}$  miles).

The town of Chanderi was built on a hill and had a citadel which was strongly fortified, and a wall had been built round the entire circumference of the town. On the day after his arrival before Chanderi, Babar made a reconnaissance of the fort and selected positions for his centre and right and left wings. For his artillery he selected a level spot of ground, to which he sent his sappers with orders to *erect batteries for the emplacement of his guns*. The troops received a general order to prepare fascines, scaling ladders, and everything required for storming operations.

On the 6th of the month Jamal-Ul-Ahwal, Babar resolved to take the fort by a front attack. The enemy had strengthened the city only, placing on the outer wall of the town but a few men so as to give warning of any sudden attack. By

the evening Babar's troops had occupied the outer wall of the town without much resistance. The garrison had, by this time, withdrawn to the citadel. At dawn the next day the Emperor ordered his troops to take up their positions and await his arrival with standards waving and drums beating. The Hindus met the besiegers with showers of stones and some peculiarly inflammable composition, but the brave Afghan troops never wavered, and reached the ramparts of the citadel, every man trying to emulate his comrade. At one end of the height on which the citadel was built there was a covered way, and when the members of the garrison saw that the besiegers had occupied this weak point in the defence, they retired inside the building. The stormers now clambered along the whole length of the ramparts and jumped into the enclosure. At length the citadel was gained, and on a hill to the north-east of the fort of Chanderi, a pyramid was raised of the heads of its defenders. After appointing his own governor at Chanderi and leaving there a garrison of 3,000 men, Babar marched towards the Jumna, where the passage of his troops at the Kenara ferry took four days. On the 6th day of the month Jamal-ul-Akhir (corresponding with the 27th February 1528 A. D.) his camp was pitched on the right bank of the Ganges.

The measures adopted by Babar for the successful passage of this grand river, indisputably merit great attention, for they yet again reveal in Babar the talents of a great commander. He first of all sent on some men to secure about 40 boats, and to collect the requisite material for a bridge. The place which he chose was at the point where an island divides the channel of the river. Here Babar mounted a large cannon, and to the left of the proposed bridge he threw up a redoubt and garrisoned it with men armed with muskets. On the island, and to the right of the bridge, he placed small cannons mounted on carriages. *Thus the passage of the river was under artillery and musketry fire from three sides.* We should bear in mind that this occurred in the year 1528 A. D., in an uncivilised part of the continent of Asia. In the beginning of the XVIth century, Babar, as though he were the most advanced artillerist, most carefully superintended the casting of cannon of large calibre. As soon as the bridge was ready, Babar pushed across it a portion of his army as a strong reconnoitring party. This was met by the enemy who advanced to the attack. Babar's left wing got into confusion, but his centre and right wing withstood the enemy's onslaught and compelled his retirement. Babar did not move his artillery or his baggage train across the river the first day, but only his musketeers, and at nightfall the greater portion of those of his



troops, who were the first to cross by the bridge, were brought back to the right bank of the river. The next day, however, Babar's advanced troops sent word that the enemy had fled, and so Babar immediately ordered a strong detachment, under the command of Chin-Timur-Sultan to follow in pursuit. His whole army now crossed over to the left bank; the camels being taken over by a ford which was found below the bridge. Within 6 days of his passage across the Ganges, Babar pitched camp beyond the river Gumti, and when he was within two marches of Oude, he received a report from his advanced guard that Sheikh-Bayazid had taken up a position on the far bank of the river Seru, and so he sent off 1,000 men as a reinforcement to Chin-Timur-Sultan's command. On the 7th day of the month Rajab, Babar halted within 8 *versts* ( $5\frac{1}{3}$  miles) of Audon, the point of junction of the rivers Seru and Gogra. At this time Sheikh-Bayazid wrote Chin-Timur-Sultan a letter asking him to enter into negotiations, but perceiving that this was only a ruse to gain time, Chin-Timur made arrangements for his troops to cross the river Seru, whereupon Sheikh-Bayazid's army fled in every direction.

Thus Babar's campaign in Oude terminated. It was skilfully planned and lasted for a period of less than two months. Babar's main body had marched from Chanderi to Oude, a distance of more than 600 *versts* (400 miles), whilst his various outlying detachments had probably covered, within the same space of time, 800 *versts* (530 miles). Within too the period of this brief campaign, Babar had directed the passage of his army across two large rivers, the Jumna and the Ganges. After passing several days in Oude engaged in setting up his own administration in that province, the conqueror re-crossed the Seru, and made preparations for the enjoyment of some sport.

On the conclusion of his brilliant campaign at Chanderi and in the Purab, and in anticipation of a fresh one, Babar actively entered upon the reconstruction of the provinces which he had conquered, and which now formed part of his vast Empire. In this task he displayed surprising energy. He entered, too, into all the details of military matters, and *fully recognised that a properly organised regular army is the main force to which the monarch of a vast Empire must ever trust for the integrity of his possessions.* By a successful choice too of Ministers and Viceroys, he secured a peaceful administration of his varied provinces. Whilst trusting such persons he carefully watched them and saw that they did their duty. Further, he never disregarded the opinion of wise and experienced individuals, and when he decided upon undertaking any difficult enterprise, he would call a council, and in the majority of instances he acted according to the decision which might be

arrived at, at such a council. Mistakes, or rather errors of judgment, he freely forgave and forgot. The conduct of foreign policy he kept firmly in his own hands, and he directed it towards the consolidation of that monarchy which his own genius had created. He, however, always acted according to a programme which he had well thought out before, and when peaceful negotiations did not bring about the wished for result, he never hesitated to resort to war. It was by means of negotiations alike honourable to both parties, that Babar acquired from the sons of the fallen Hindu potentate, Rana-Sanka, the towns of Rautanpur, Chitor and Biani (the strategical importance of which he fully recognized) and so secured the southern border line of his vast Central Indian possessions. The north-western confines of India he had already guarded by holding Afghanistan where his son Humayun held sway in his name. But in order that we may see how much Babar concerned himself about this bulwark of India, we here quote a letter\* which he addressed to his son Humayun, a letter which is in many respects of extreme interest.

"Salutations to Humayun," wrote the Emperor, "whose name I can never pronounce without the warmest wishes that I may again see him. On the 10th of the month *Rabi-ul-Ahwal* there came into Our presence Bezinakh and Baiyan-Sheikh bringing with them letters and despatches concerning the events which have occurred in the several localities. We thank God who has bestowed upon Us thee, O son; and who has made this slave the object of His benign love. May the Most Highest always accord to me and thee feelings of such extreme joy. Thou hast given to this slave the name *Al-Aman* (*may God bless him*), but in doing so thou could'st not have thought of what thou wer't doing, although written with thine own hand, seeing that the common people more often pronounce such a name *Alaman* (signifying a robber). But, however it be, may God bless the name and the humble individual who bears it. May the Almighty give to me and thee long years of life, and may He shower upon *Al-Aman* all possible blessing during the course of many future generations. The Most Highest in His great and exceeding mercy has granted to Our affairs such success as We have never seen in any one of the ages preceding Our Own time." †

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\* See *Mémoires de Babar* (Zahir ed-din Mohammed), Vol. II. p. 362. *Author.*

† These words correspond with historical truth, for Babar had succeeded in establishing his dynasty over the vastest Empire in the world, and in this respect he had, indeed, achieved a success greater than that, of Alexander the Great of Macedon, Attila (a Russian Slavonic King) Cæsar, Mahmud of Ghazni, Ghingiz-Khan, Tamerlane and all such great conquerors of the world.—*Author.*



“On the 11th of the month above named, I learnt that the inhabitants of Balkh had called Kurban and had admitted him within the walls of their city. I accordingly directed Kamran (my second son) and all the Begs who were with him at Kabul to join thee, O Humayun, so that you might all move together either towards Hissar, or Samarkand, or Herat, according to circumstances, in the hope that with God’s assistance you might defeat the enemy, retain mastery of the occupied provinces, rejoice your friends, and compel your enemies to bow the knee. Here then is the moment, if God sees fit, to make of thyself a sacrifice, and to fall, bearing arms. Every time such an opportunity presents itself, slacken not the display of resolute ardour, for unconcern and sloth are incompatible with the attainment of the position of an autocratic sovereign. The desire to attain success does not conform to the exercise of delay. The world belongs to him who can hasten on events. The vigilance of a monarchy can never be checked except in such cases when a reference is made to higher authority.”

“If by the favour of God thou art able to subjugate Balkh and Hissar, thine own people can garrison the latter, and Kamran’s men can occupy the former place. If, then, through the bestowal of still greater good fortune Samarkand also falls to thee, then within the walls of this city thou canst establish thine own residence, for with the aid of the Divine Being, I will incorporate Hissar in my Imperial dominions. In case Kamran should find that the possession of Balkh is not enough for him, report to me, and I fully hope to be able to find in the countries round about, that which will make up the deficiency. Thou well knowest that I have made it a rule to bestow six parts of everything upon thee and five parts upon Kamran. Make this an undeviating rule of thy conduct and never depart from it. Live in good relations with Kamran. The great people of this world should be possessed of lofty feelings, and I fully hope that between Kamran and thyself excellent relations will always prevail. As regards Kamran, he is a young man with good propensities, and of a noble nature. He will therefore lose no opportunity of showing respect to thee or of affording thee all assistance.”

“I have one other observation to make to thee. In the course of two or three years no one has come to me from thee, and those persons whom I have despatched to thee, have returned after a year’s absence. Is this so or not?”

“Thou writest to me regularly, but there remains yet one other thing undone. Now, to leave yet one thing undone is not right for a sovereign. There are no heavier chains than the chains of an autocracy, and independence is incompatible with such a union.”

"Thou hast written to me as I counselled thee, but in future endeavour to write more naturally and in clear and simple phraseology, as the labour will be less for thyself and also for those who may be empowered to read thy letters."

"There now remains for thee to undertake a great work. For this thou must consult with experienced Begs and with other wise and experienced persons, and do nothing without their advice."

"The many victories and successes which I gained whilst at Kabul have induced me to retain this place within the number of my Imperial possessions."

*"Never break through the rule of keeping thy forces concentrated about thee."*

In order to guard his Indian possessions from the warlike Uzbaks, Babar, as can be seen from his letter to his son, thought it expedient to carry on an uninterrupted struggle with them. For the more effectual attainment of this object, he endeavoured by every means in his power, to preserve friendly relations with the Shah of Persia. In the pursuit of this policy he had complete success, and the Shah did not a little to help in the preservation of the northern and western limits of his Empire. By his skilful policy, therefore, the Great Mogol induced the Shah to wage an almost ceaseless war with the Uzbaks, and to a description of these wars Babar devotes much space in his imperishable Memoirs.

But whilst he laboured to organise a strong foreign policy, Babar was equally active in the well being of the home affairs of his Empire. With especial attention he turned towards the construction of durable and useful buildings, and to the laying out of gardens which are so necessary in a hot climate. He organised, too, a regular postal service between Agra and Kabul. At last the season set in which is favourable for the conduct of war operations in India.

On the 19th of the month *Rabi-ul-Akhir* of the Hijra (corresponding with the 1st January 1529 of the Christian era) Babar received the news that the people of Bengal had declared their adherence to him. This news was very important, because a peaceful attitude on the part of the people of Bengal secured the quiet of the Eastern frontiers of the Purab. Babar accordingly next day called a council, at which it was decided to move westward into the country of the Independent States. The Emperor then directed all his army leaders to unite their forces with the army under his son Askari; but the idea of a campaign in this direction was soon altered, because Babar received the intelligence that Sultan Mahmud, son of the deceased Emperor Iskandar, had taken possession of Behar. A fresh council was then convened at



Agra, at which it was decided to undertake a campaign eastwards. That very day Babar learnt that his son Humayun, at the head of an army of 50,000, was marching on Samarkand, and that his advanced detachments had occupied Hissar, crossed the Oxus at the Termez ferry, and had seized Kabadian. Babar thereupon entered Behar and Bengal, and thus his Empire became extended in two opposite directions (Samarkand and Behar), the distance intervening being 3,000 *versts* (2,000 miles.)

Such is the power of genius. Here we see a man who had been driven out of his native country, Farghana, a refugee beyond the Tian-Shan range, entering a country that was filled with his enemies. But soon this very man crosses the Hindu-Kush and establishes himself at Kabul. After remaining a long time in the uninviting, mountainous and poor country of the Afghans, his eagle eye looked to see what was to be done in many millioned and fertile India. Though of an impetuous disposition, Babar was obliged for many years to curb his passionate and, in the highest degree, bold desire to become the subjugator and possessor of Hindustan. His subsequent great achievements were not attained by armies of colossal magnitude, but by the genius which placed at his disposal, *a beautifully organised standing army* which was inured to campaigns and battles, and of which the devotion to its leader was boundless.

It will suffice for the purposes of this narrative to here record that Babar, who left Agra at the head of his army on the 17th of the month Jamadi-ul-Ahwal, was at Dakdaki on the banks of the Ganges in exactly one month's time, having marched meanwhile a distance of  $382\frac{1}{2}$  *versts* (255 miles) with a baggage train and artillery, the order of the march being so arranged that, in proportion as the army advanced, its numerical strength the more increased.

Babar's further campaigning in the delta of the Ganges proved him to be a very powerful swimmer. Thus we read: "On the 25th of the month (*Jamadi-ul-Akhir*) after a march of 16 *versts* ( $10\frac{2}{3}$  miles) the army reached Seruali where a halt was declared. The next march brought the troops to the point of junction of the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Babar, in whose Memoirs is the following passage: *never lost an opportunity of swimming a river which may be met in the course of a campaign*, swam at this point the entire breadth of the united rivers, and then without resting on the opposite bank, swam back again. And again on the 23rd of the month Radjab, when his army was at Chusu, Babar swam the Ganges near the mouth of the river Karamnis. Such exploits may afford the key to the riddle of successes that were so unusual in the previous history of Asia.

The first period of Babar's campaign in Behar and Bengal terminated about this time (A. D. 1529.) Behar then passed under his sway, and against the Bengalis and rebel Afghans, he concentrated a powerful army. As a great proficient in the art of war, and as undoubtedly possessed of all the qualities of a great leader of men, Babar did not content himself with the successes which he had already gained, for he sought out the armies of his enemies, and formed the intention of utterly routing them in the fight. This was always the clearly defined object of every campaign which he so brilliantly conducted.

In order to co-operate with his land forces, Babar built a large river flotilla, the vessels of which were fastened together with chain cables. The orderly march of his troops along the banks of the great river of Hindustan, and the easy movement of his river flotilla, produced a strong impression on the population of Northern India, amongst whom the terrible name of the Great Mogol passed from mouth to mouth.

On the 7th of the month Shaban (corresponding with the middle of April 1527 A. D.) Babar received through his spies the extraordinarily important intelligence that a Bengal army, under the command of Makdum-i-Alam, consisting of 24 divisions, had entrenched itself on the banks of the river Gunduk, and that it had there been joined by a force of Afghans under the command of Sultan Mahmud. On the 9th of the same month Babar's troops pitched camp at Arrah. Here news was received that a Bengal army which had been raised in Kerid (Kherid)—the country (between Sinandpur and the Ganges) which is watered by the Gogra,—was embarked on 150 boats that were anchored on the left bank of the Seru, at the point where that river falls into the Ganges. Although it was evident that the Kherid army was acting in accord with the Bengalis, Babar made a last effort to come to terms with the people of Bengal. In his Memoirs he mentions that between himself and the Bengalis peace prevailed "on the surface," and that in such cases he always put forward the interests of peace, "in order," adds the subtle politician, "to have all the chances on my side." The next day, therefore, he held a conference with the Bengal envoy, at which it was agreed that the Imperial army should move in all directions so as to surround "the enemy" (*i. e.*, the rebel Afghans of the Purab) but that no territory belonging to Bengal should be ceded to the Mogols. Under the terms of the same agreement, the Kerid army was to be allowed a free passage to its country, and Babar added that if the Bengal troops did not clear the way for his advance and refrain from opposing him, he would hold them responsible for any misfortunes that might arise hereafter.



On the 17th of the month Shaban, Babar undertook a reconnaissance with a view to finding a suitable place for crossing over to the left bank of the Ganges, in order to join forces with his son Askari. It was finally arranged that a portion of his army should advance upon Geldi, where it was to cross the Seru river, and under the cover of artillery fire throw itself on the enemy's flank. Babar was at this time aware that the Bengalis had decided upon disputing the passage of the Seru at Geldi, and so had arranged to cross the same river at a point 21 *versts* (14 miles) distant from that position. On the 22nd of the same month (Shaban) Babar convened a council of war, of which he thus writes in his Memoirs. "I had information of all the points between Sinanderpur and Oudh and Baiharidji at which the Seru river can be crossed. I accordingly directed a portion of my army to pass in boats across that river, and at once advance upon the enemy. As soon as this force had carried out this movement, the troops under Ustada and Mastafa were also to join in the fight. I was then to cross the Ganges and keep my troops in reserve, but ready to take advantage of any circumstance. Muhammad Zaman-Mirza and the troops detailed to fight on that bank of the Ganges which is turned towards Behar, \* were to engage in the neighbourhood of Mustafa." This short but clear account of the disposition which he made, seems to show that it was one which was worthy of the great conqueror. We take this opportunity of here mentioning that Babar rarely speaks of the numerical strength of the several armies which he commanded, although he refers to such and such a column numbering 20,000 men. Although this circumstance does not enable us to accurately determine the total strength of the army which was operating along the Seru and the Ganges, we shall probably be not far from the truth if we put its strength down at not less than 150,000 men.

We will here note one remarkable detail which would considerably facilitate the passage of Babar's column across the Seru river, for he makes mention of his *having despatched a special messenger with orders, that during the night of the 22nd and 23rd, all the infantry of this column were to be mounted on horses † previous to the passage of the river.*

On the 23rd of the month Shaban (corresponding with the end of April or beginning of May 1529 A. D.) the army

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\* The reach of the Ganges in the direction of the upper course of the Seru river, runs from south to north, so that Babar's position was in the shape of a bow, with its convex side turned towards his enemy.—*Author.*

† In all probability these horses were requisitioned from the inhabitants of the country round.—*Author.*

under the personal command of the Emperor began to cross from the right to the left bank of the Ganges, where it was to take up its allotted position.

It was at this time that Babar received the news that his son Askari had crossed the Seru river, and had attacked the enemy. He then at once directed all the small detachments which had crossed the same river higher up, to join Askari's column, and to co-operate with it in an aggressive movement. *To attack en masse* was the undeviating rule of all Babar's great engagements.

The great Emperor always rendered their due to bravery and daring, for the names of those who distinguished themselves always appear on the pages of his imperishable Memoirs.

Thus, he writes of the leader of his cavalry forces: "His (Isan-Timur-Sultan's) behaviour in this affair, was very noticeable: firstly, he led the way across the river in a skilful and fearless manner, and then, without any signs of wavering he attacked with a handful of his men, an enemy of greatly superior numbers whom he put to flight."

We give here a brief summary and review of the engagement which terminated Babar's strategical movement on the banks of the Seru river.

I. Prior to this fight, Babar's several forces were divided by the river Ganges, but before the engagement opened, Babar had successfully concentrated his entire army on the left bank of the river.

II. The position which Babar took up was exceedingly well chosen. In respect of defence, it had a strong front, and its right rested on the Ganges, its left flank being secured by Askari's army. As regards its offensive capabilities, it admitted of a turning movement on the enemy's right flank.

III. Babar's dispositions were simple and short. In order to turn the right flank of the Bengalis, Babar was able to mass 75,000 men, or half his entire army, and in order to hasten the carrying out of this turning movement, Babar mounted his infantry on horses.

IV. Babar's artillery was posted in two groups in front of his main body, the object being to search the front with a hot fire, and so facilitate the passage of his main body across the Ganges.

V. The passage of the river was so timed, that it was carried out on receipt of the news that the enemy had been attacked by the flanking columns.

VI. The attack of the flanking columns was carried out by means of a converging movement, which admitted of his whole force being united and reinforced from different points along the river.



VII. The troops of the various commanders were in their places immediately the river had been crossed.

VIII. Askari's column was connected with the other parts of the army before battle was offered.

IX. There was a considerable reserve of fresh forces in hand, for when the battle was over, a considerable body of men was still crossing the river.

The Great Mogol, in fact, shewed that he knew how to skilfully place on the field of battle an army of 150,000 men without allowing a single detail, however small, to slip out of his hands. He was, in very truth, then, a master of the art of war.

When Babar began his campaign in Bengal, he had three principal enemies. Firstly, the Bengalis, incited by the Afghans of the Purab; Sultan Mahmud, son of Iskandar a former Emperor of India, who wished to secure his father's throne, and lastly the Afghans of the Purab under the leadership of Biban and Sheikh Bayazid, sworn enemies of Babar's. The defeat of these combined forces on the bank of the Seru river produced a great impression on the neighbouring provinces, and did much to quiet the hostile Afghans, for many of their leaders came in and made their submission. Amongst them came Yakhia-Lugani with an offer of 8,000 fresh Afghan troops.

We have more than once observed in our description of the campaigns against India, that almost every conqueror who has carried war into the heart of Hindustan, has there found allies, and that armies of many of the invaders have not only not become reduced in proportion as they advanced, but have almost always increased. Such is the authentic demonstration of history, and any future subjugation of India will probably meet with the same experience.

On the 10th of the month Ramadan, the Bengalis sent word that they assented to the conditions which had been imposed by Babar and they also made offers of peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. Having settled matters in Behar and Bengal, and having pacified most of the rebel Afghans, Babar marched his army back towards Agra. But as Biban and Sheikh Bayazid had not come to terms with him, he resolved to take them *enroute*. On the 17th of the month, Babar received intelligence that his two remaining enemies had crossed the Seru and the Gogra, and were moving on to Lucknow. In pursuit he accordingly detached a strong force. The rainy season had by this time set in. On the 18th of the month, Babar crossed the Seru river, and the next day visited Kerid and Sikandarpur, and the same day he heard that his enemies had occupied Lucknow. Babar then marched along the banks of the Seru into

Oude. For a long time his opponents held their own, but at length on the 12th of the month *Shawal*, Babar received the report of their defeat and pursuit by bodies of his light cavalry.

The campaign was now over. The Emperor sent orders from Kalpi to his advanced troops, whose horses were by this time completely jaded, to halt where they were, when he would send fresh cavalry details from Agra to relieve them.

A march of 207 *vershs* (170 miles) *via* Biladar, Sawaniandpur, Etawah and Fatehpur brought Babar back to his capital at Agra where, in a few days' time, he was joined by his wife, Humayun's mother, who had arrived from Kabul.

The Great Mogol had now no more enemies worthy of the name, who were at all able to compete with his troops. He was now 50 years of age, but the unwearied activity which he had practised without interruption since he was 22 years of age, could not but have told even on his iron constitution. The circumstances attending his death, however, were as remarkable as the history of his active life. In his immortal Memoirs he tells us of the cause of his illness and of his presentiment of approaching death under the following circumstances. His favourite son, Humayan, the heir to his throne, a misanthrope and a dreamy individual, all at once made his appearance at Agra from Badakhshan, to the great surprise and astonishment of both his parents. After a stay of a few days at Agra, Humayun was directed to go to Sunbul, where he fell ill. He was then brought to Delhi, and thence by boat back to Agra. Everything was done for him, but apparently without avail. One of Babar's personal attendants then counselled his master to offer to God a sacrifice of some valuable thing, and to pray for his son's recovery. Babar's great love for his son, whom he prized more than his own life, led him to decide on his own personal sacrifice. But his adherents remonstrated with him and suggested that he should offer as a sacrifice, a priceless diamond which had been seized when he captured Agra. "What," exclaimed Babar "does there exist on this earth a jewel which is of equal value with the life of my own son! No, it is right that I should ransom his life with my own!" Babar then entered the room in which his dying son lay. Moving round his bed three times Babar called out, "I take upon myself all the sufferings which thou endurest." In his Memoirs it is related that Babar had no sooner performed this exorcism, when he felt a sensation of heaviness whilst his son's health began to improve. It was soon after this that Humayun got perfectly well, and that Babar himself became seriously indisposed. Summoning to his bedside the highest officials and the most influential persons in his Empire, Babar feelingly proclaimed his son Humayun his successor and



the heir to his throne, and invited those around him to support the new Emperor. On the 6th of the month Jamadi-ul-Ahwal, in the 937th year of the Hijra (corresponding with the 26th December 1530 A. D.) Babar terminated his famous earthly career.

Babar undoubtedly belongs to the number of the greatest Emperors and army leaders the world has ever seen, especially when we consider the means with which he had to work and the age in which so great a star arose. If we compare his achievements with those of his contemporary sovereigns not only in Asia but in more enlightened Europe, the palm must certainly be given to him. His wars did not lead to destruction but to building up. An exalted view of politics, an honourable display of ambition, great skill as an administrator, the exercise of the power of improving, in a brief period, the welfare of his subjects, deep respect for the law, which secured the honour, integrity and happiness of his people, a gracious demeanour to those around him—an attribute which exalts a monarch—these were the principal features of the man both as a politician and as a sovereign. As an army leader he possessed all the qualifications of a great strategist and tactician. He possessed, too, the gift of binding with his own, the heart of every soldier and officer under his command, sharing there joys and sorrows, and convincing them that, under his orders, victory was not far off. Apart from all this, Babar was a man of the highest culture, for as a *savant* and especially as a writer, he has won for himself a great name in the history of the world. He set a high value on science, and he surrounded himself with famous scientists, whom he reckoned amongst the number of his personal friends. His own will surmounted everything that came in his way. His cheery disposition, his unfailing good nature, his rectitude and kindliness of heart, won for him the love and respect of his numerous subjects.

We will conclude our notes on the overland campaigns against India with an account of the famous invasion of that peninsula by Nadir-Shah—an invasion which took place at the close of the first half of the 18th century. Nadir-Shah it was who dealt a terrible blow at the empire which had been built up by Babar, the Great Mogol, and, with remarkable skill have the English, who are now the possessors of Hindustan, taken advantage of that circumstance.

W. E. GOWAN, *Lt.-Col.*

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—THEN AND NOW: A RETROSPECT AND  
AN ESTIMATE.

- (1.) *A History of the Sepoy War in India.* By John William Kaye. London, Allen & Co. 1865-1876.
- (2.) *History of the Indian Mutiny.* By Colonel G. B. Malleson. London, Allen & Co. 1878-1880.
- (3.) *Men and Events of my Time in India.* By Sir Richard Temple, Bart. London, John Murray. 1882.
- (4.) *A History of the Indian Mutiny.* By T. R. E. Holmes. London, Allen & Co. 1883.
- (5.) *Cosmopolitan Essays.* By Sir Richard Temple, Bart. London, Chapman and Hall. 1886.

FOR a century and a half from the time when Queen Elizabeth granted her charter to the "Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies," that great Association achieved little or nothing in excess of the authority vested in it by the Crown. It had, indeed, throughout that period, carried on its operations in many of the sea-coast towns of India, and some places in the interior of the country. But its settlements were of small extent; and they were separated from each other by vast distances. The energies of the Company's agents were concentrated upon the shipping of cargoes, and the preparation of bills of lading. Their aspirations were limited to the extension of their trade, and the protection of their warehouses. To win the favour of the "Great Mogul" and his deputies, of the Maráthas and the Deccan kings, they were compelled to make professions of the humblest submission. Far from cherishing any design of founding an empire in the lands upon which they gazed from their factories, the very suggestion that such a thing was possible would have been received by them with absolute incredulity. But while the servants of the English Company were poring over their ledgers, the Frenchman Dupleix conceived the idea of territorial acquisition upon a gigantic scale. Hardly, however, had Dupleix started on his career, when the genius and daring of a young English merchant threw his exploits into the shade; and by working out his great rival's scheme, Robert Clive won for his countrymen the sovereignty of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Thence for a hundred years the great drama gradually unfolded itself, until Moghal, Marátha, Sindi and Sikh were alike compelled to bow the neck beneath the irresistible British yoke. The close of that hundred years beheld the unique spectacle of



a mercantile corporation ruling a rich and splendid empire, by means of an army that numbered 280,000 men. But the wonderful thing was, that of this numerous and distinguished army, no less than 235,000 were mercenary troops, recruited from the very races which our arms had conquered ; while only 45,000, or barely one-fifth of the entire force, were composed of soldiers of British race. So implicit was the confidence which the Company placed in the loyalty of its native battalions, that their proportion to the strength of the whole army might not improbably have become yet greater, but for a frightful emergency that arose. For as the century of conquest was drawing to an end, there suddenly burst over the land a tempest that had long been brewing ; and a catastrophe took place which necessitated well nigh the whole work of conquest being done over again.

Thirty years have now passed away since the outbreak at Mirath that Sunday afternoon in May. But in spite of vigorous and determined efforts to ascertain the real causes of the rebellion, they still remain to a great extent involved in obscurity. For a quarter of a century little, if any, fresh light has been thrown upon them. No historian has arisen amongst the survivors of the forces that were arrayed against us, to narrate how the seed of revolt was sown, whose hand watered it, and nurtured it to maturity. No voluntary witness has ever come forward from the ranks of our enemies. The evidence that was dragged from unwilling mouths in Courts of Inquiry held in 1858 is neither conclusive nor consistent. The mass of evidence accumulated on the subject has undergone a prolonged and searching examination. The process has resulted only in the heaping up of a multitude of facts and circumstances, a moiety of which would have sufficed to produce the crisis, while the whole need not necessarily have done so. Thus, in spite of an intimate knowledge of the events prior to, and contemporary with, the rebellion, our labours in trying to piece together cause and effect are in great measure vain. The conclusion is reluctantly forced upon the inquirer that the multifarious antecedents of the Mutiny, which may be accepted as its predisposing causes, are so inextricably woven together, that it is impossible to determine the sequence in which they arose, to distinguish cause from effect, or either from a mere coincidence. The greater the effort to arrive at a solution of the problem, the harder it is to say that any one thing or phase of things was the *fons et origo malorum*. There was no master mind to unite into one formidable combination the incongruous and heterogenous forces that were opposed to us. No leader ever proclaimed to the world the end that he was aiming at, and the motives by which he

was actuated. There was no single watchword which should stir the hearts of all alike, and reconcile an endless series of diverging and conflicting interests. The most careful analysis of the manifold and complex causes of the rebellion has not even enabled history to furnish a definite answer to the first question that confronts us; and whether the plan of the rising was formed within the army or without it, is still a matter of debate. Possibly the answer may never be forthcoming. The awful events that took place in 1857 stand out in the most vivid relief from the hazy and doubtful nature of the causes to which they may have been due. Suppose that the greased cartridge had never been issued, that Oudh had not been annexed, or that there had been no prophecy of the termination of the Company's ráj after it had flourished for a hundred years. Eliminate from the grand total of reasons and causes any one or two or three, and who can say that even then the remainder would not have turned the scale?

That troublous times might be looked for in our Indian Empire was not unforeseen by the statesmen trained in the politics of the East. The time and the hour might not be known, but the signs of impending danger were read by many. Mountstuart Elphinstone, with singular prescience, had long before put his finger upon the twofold source from which it might be expected. The native army was, he said, a delicate and dangerous machine, which a little mismanagement might easily turn against us. But great as might be the danger to the State from a pampered and mutinous soldiery, the possible causes of a more grievous peril were situated elsewhere. "I have left out of the account," he wrote, "the danger to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies. There is but one talisman that, while it animated and united them all, would leave us without a single adherent,—this talisman is the name of religion, a power so odious that it is astonishing our enemies have not more frequently and systematically employed it against us." That any direct siege would ever be laid by our Government to the bulwarks of Islam or Brahmanism he did not for a moment anticipate. What he feared was that the most ordinary actions might engender the suspicion that the Feringhee was bent upon up-rooting the creed of both Muhammadan and Hindu. By others, too, the note of warning was sounded; but there were none who pointed with such astonishing accuracy to the real sources of danger. Sir Henry Lawrence, for example, called attention in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* to our careless indifference, warning men that what had occurred in the city of Kábul might some day



occur at Delhi, Mirath, or Bareli. But amply as the warning was justified, the causes that gave birth to the disaster in the Afghán mountains were altogether remote from those to which the Indian Mutiny was due.

Thus the curiosity of the historical inquirer can only be partially satisfied. But the practical lessons for the statesman and administrator may yet be written so plainly, that he who runs may read them. The key-note of the situation is to be found in the conjunction of the two forces named by Elphinstone. The loyalty of a mercenary army was gradually sapped ; and it was turned against its masters in the name of an outraged religion. Yet, powerful as was this alliance of sacerdotal and martial sympathies, it was supplemented by a whole host of other hostile forces. With astonishing carelessness we had raised up enemies in one direction after another. In our pride of race we had cast down with supreme indifference reigning families whose representatives had borne sway over extensive countries, an ancient and revered aristocracy, and a popular landed gentry ; we had offended an hereditary priesthood of extraordinary claims and an unbounded influence ; we had alienated the affections of an army trained in the science, and skilled in the munitions of European warfare, while a large proportion of the measures which had estranged from us these various classes, affected the population of the country at large. With most of these the willingness of the spirit was out of all proportion to the weakness of the flesh ; and hatred had to be smothered in impotency. It was the army, and the army alone, that could move hand against us. Let the sepoys be once persuaded that we were planning the destruction of all that to Mussalman and Hindu makes life worth living, and the instrument would be ready at hand for the wreaking of an universal vengeance.

From time immemorial the natives of India had been used to see the boundaries of kingdoms extended by force of arms. So when Lord Dalhousie after successful wars added the Panjáb and Burma to the British dominions, although certain correlative military difficulties arose in connection with the policy, there was nothing in his action to unsettle the equilibrium of the native mind. But by rigidly enforcing a theory, which he called the right of lapse, a heavy blow was struck at royal families, priests and people. Its enforcement could not fail to create universal misunderstanding amongst the races of India. It annihilated the rights of property in this world, it blasted the hopes of salvation in the next. A Hindu's prospects of future bliss rest upon the due performance of religious ceremonies for his departed shade by the son that he has left behind him. If heirs of the body failed, a kinsman, however

distant, might be adopted ; and the substitute was deemed in every way equal to a real son. Strange to say it was a matter of no unusual experience for the head of a noble house, whose wives might be numbered by the score, to be obliged to obtain by adoption a scion to preserve his lineage. But Lord Dalhousie was possessed with a burning enthusiasm for the widest extension of the blessings of British rule. Suffering millions were to be redeemed from the iniquities of Oriental despotism, and brought beneath the benignant ægis of the Company's administration. So when no heir was born to a Nawáb or Rája, he determined that the kingdom should lapse to the Supreme Government. The right to adopt might, indeed, continue to be exercised as regards private family matters, but this emasculated privilege—this shadow divorced from the substance—was deemed worthless, whether from a human or divine point of view. The outward and visible sign was torn away, and the religious function lost its inherent virtue. In olden days it was indeed always the custom to obtain the sanction of the Paramount Power to the adoption of an heir with full rights of inheritance. But the sanction was invariably bestowed, unless there was some special or personal reason for refusing it. The fiat went forth. In 1848 Satára was brought under the British flag, in 1849 Sambhalpur, in 1853 Jhánsi, while the question of annexing the ancient Rájput State of Kerowli was only decided in the negative after a keen and protracted discussion. In the same year Báji Rao, the last of the Peshwas, was gathered to his fathers, and the exorbitant allowances which he had enjoyed were not continued to his adopted son. In 1856 Nágpur ceased to be a kingdom, and became the Central Provinces, while the titular dignities of the Nawábs of the Carnatic and Tanjore came to an end. The list of victims to the law of lapse was complete. But in 1856 a still greater shock was dealt to the popular mind by the annexation of the dominions of our old and faithful ally, the King of Oudh, who had persistently declined to reform the monstrous abuses of his administration. In the cases of Nágpur and Jhánsi additional cause of enmity was given by an indecent and unjustifiable confiscation of the private property of the royal families. To this formidable list of dynasties which we had cast down and made our foes, was added one of greater name and weight than all. Lord Dalhousie decided that the king and princes of Delhi should vacate the palace hitherto occupied by them within the city walls, which was a strategical position of immense importance, and take up their residence at the Kutab. So the descendants of the house of Bábar were stirred up to deadly hatred against their successors to the suzerainty of Hindustan. The agents of all



these powerful houses might plot and scheme, and await the great day of retribution. But because Lord Dalhousie's systematic annexation excited discontent, it does not follow that he was wrong. While in strict law he was indisputably right, his policy consolidated and strengthened the British Empire, and at the same time promoted the interests of the vast mass of the people who dwelt in the countries that were annexed. But his motives were not unnaturally misconstrued, and their disinterestedness was not believed in. He seemed to his enemies to be carrying out a wholesale policy of systematic spoliation.

Next to the rulers came the pillars of the state. A two-fold process of settlement and resumption caused the could of the landed gentry and aristocracy of the country. In India land had been won by the sword and kept by the sword; and little value was attached to written title deeds. As our older acquisitions had come into our hands, we accepted, for the time being as the rightful proprietors of the land, those whom we happened to find actually in possession. Time went by and the occupants felt themselves secure in the ownership of their estates. But a step that might have been taken earlier with comparative impunity, was decided upon after a most unfortunate delay. It seemed good to the Government of Lord William Bentinck to institute a scientific settlement or examination of all existing rights. The inevitable result followed. Thousands of landed proprietors were cast adrift in despair and dismay for want of documentary evidence showing their right to the estates which they held. The old order changed and not altogether for the better. In place of large landholders, there came to the front a class of peasant proprietors, for whose interests we entertained an almost sentimental regard, which in these latter days was not vouchsafed to the landlord. Such persons as obtained estates of any size were *novi homines*, weak in their position, devoid of influence, useless as allies. The ultra conservative instinct of the population was alarmed. The existence of this feeling was not unnoticed. Thoughtful observers said, in 1832, that if ever the talukdars of the North-West Provinces rose against us, the peasantry would, in spite of our efforts for their welfare, be on their side. In the Western Presidency the work of upheaval proceeded on an enormous scale. In the first five years of its operations the Imám Commission called for the titles of 35,000 estates, great and small; and three-fifths of these were confiscated. Thus was a time-honoured aristocracy sunk in humiliation and reduced to poverty. But this was by no means all. Another blow was struck against vested interests by an order which permitted the sale of land in execution of the decrees of civil courts. Its promulgation swelled the numbers of the discontented

classes who were sullenly biding their time. They were depressed, too, by indirect causes. In the olden days the cadets of these noble houses could find, in the more elastic constitution of Native States, a wider scope for their ambition than the stereotyped mechanism of British rule afforded. But now, of this less restricted sphere, the sweeping policy of annexation had, in great measure, deprived them. Annexation had done more than deprive some classes of possible openings: it struck at existing rights. The administration of the new territories was put into the hands of English officers and the native officials were cast adrift, or forced to occupy subordinate positions.

The consequences of the settlement were sufficiently grave to cause alarm to many European officials. But in addition to the settlement, another engine of destruction was brought to bear upon the landed interest. Apart from the actual proprietors of the land, there was a numerous class of persons who, under the old *regime*, possessed hereditary rights in the collection of the land revenue of the State. The right had sometimes been fraudulently obtained. It had often continued after all need for the services of these officers had passed away. Under the new system they were but cumberers of the ground. Their rights were resumed, and their connection with both land and state severed. They could not resist. They were "*láchár*," helpless. But they could bide their time, and when the opportunity came, use all their influence against us. The Calcutta press in 1838 proclaimed how their loyalty had been undermined. Every overthrown estate, every broken privilege, was another arrow in the sheaf of our enemies. And it was from these families that came the best men in the ranks of our sepoy regiments. The conclusion was easily to be drawn, and it was said that, if owing to confiscation, the sepoy could no longer trust to British faith, we should have to place our reliance on British troops alone.

India is pre-eminently a priest-ridden country. In all the concerns of his daily life, the Hindu is trained to rest his faith on the ministrations of the hereditary Brahmanical priesthood. The Brahman was the connecting link between God and man, the receptacle of divine wisdom. "Every form," it has been said, "or ceremony of religion; all the public festivals; all the accidents and concerns of life; the revolutions of the heavenly bodies; the superstitious fears of the people; birth, sickness, marriage, misfortunes, death; a future state, have all been seized as sources of revenue to the Brahmans."\* But now the priesthood saw their vaunted power surely, if slowly

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\* Ward, on the Hindoos, quoted by Kaye.



melting away. In old days the Company's troops had been paraded in honour of idols, and there had been much unnecessary bowing down in the house of Rimmon. That had long ceased. The infamous rite of Sati was abolished, infanticide had gone with it, the murder of the sick on the banks of rivers, the offering of human sacrifices, had been done away with; widows were allowed by the British Government to re-marry, and renegades to their faith, nay, even the sons of re-married widows, might inherit ancestral property. Polygamy was in danger. The new learning of secular schools was opposed to all the time-honoured religious doctrines. Zenana missionaries were invading the inmost sanctity of Hindu and Mussalman homes. All these were deadly blows to the priestly supremacy. And now, when every one saw the new and mysterious appliances of telegraphs, railways, and steamers, which the Brahman could no more explain than the most ignorant ryot, the members of the priestly caste felt that their boasted superiority of knowledge must begin to wane away. Nor was the agitation confined to the Hindu priesthood. By the followers of the prophet of Mecca it was felt as a grave indignity to their religion that Persian ceased to be the language of the law-courts. It was bruited amongst them that the English meant to prohibit circumcision, and compel their women to go abroad unveiled. The resumption of rent free tenures had fallen heavily on many of the creed of Islam. Thus the implacable enmity of the two religions was aroused; and the alarm was heightened when some zealous missionaries issued an ill-advised manifesto, that the new arts and appliances of the age were but the precursors to the extension of the Christian faith over the length and breadth of the land. It was confidently believed by the natives that this manifesto emanated from the Government. Earnest Christian officers gave colour to the belief by openly preaching the gospel to their sepoys. And so the odious talisman of the name of religion linked in a common cause all alike.

The circumstances which specially affected each particular caste, in greater or less measure, influenced each of the others. By imperceptible degrees they converged and diverged until they leavened the bulk of the population at large. Public opinion in India is feeble, its expression indistinct. But the fall of thrones, the upheaval of an aristocracy, the offending of a priesthood, are events which can hardly fail to create a feeling which answers to its Western countertype. An enormous number of hangers-on of courts and great estates, who in one way and another obtained their living in connection with royal families, feudal chiefs, and religious institutions, were either already ruined, or fearful that their turn would come next. All these

were interested in persuading their friends and neighbours that a like fate would soon be theirs, unless they rose up in support of their rights. And so petty chieftains were encouraged to look for a return of the golden age, in which they might rob and plunder their weaker neighbours with impunity. Adventurers rejoiced at the prospect held out to them of gratifying their ambition in a less narrow sphere than that to which British rule restricted them. Others there were whom the mere force of example would suffice to bring into the ranks of conspirators. Men and women, of every caste and class, lent a greedy ear when the priests told them that religion was in danger ; that caste was to go ; that everything which conferred any value upon existence was in deadly peril. A text was not wanting to point the moral. It had been the custom for prisoners in jails, each to cook his own food in accordance with the ordinary Hindu method. Obvious inconveniences as regards discipline attached themselves to this system. An order was issued that in each jail a common mess should be provided for the prisoners ; and it was clear to them that the object of Government was the defilement of their caste.

In conjunction with the religious agitation that was springing up and gaining strength, but not knowing yet how to strike, there was a strange circumstance known to Englishmen at least as early as 1832. It was prophesied that a hundred years after the battle of Plassey, the ráj of the Company would end. The preceding year was to be marked by floods and cholera ; and when the floods and the cholera came in 1856, who could doubt the speedy downfall of the English ?

Such, apart from the army, were the forces arrayed in enmity against us. They were both numerous and momentous. But over and above them all, there was a vague and undefinable sense of uneasiness at the improvements and changes that we had been introducing in the administration of the settled districts. There was a widespread feeling of alarm and uncertainty as to what was going to be done next, and a steadily increasing disposition to regard unfavourably every step that the Sirkár might take. The English seemed to be altogether changed and changing, and people could no longer live under their sway. It was just what Elphinstone had said. Good government is not always a blessing if it is at variance with the habits and customs of the people. The tendency of the government was to make their administration as English as possible. It was like the bed of Procrustes. If the bed did not suit the limbs, the limbs must be altered to suit the bed.

The native army of the Company was numerically five times as strong as its European forces. That army, as a body, and the sepoy individually, had done us splendid service for a century,



but the service had not been uninterruptedly good. From an early period of its existence incidents had from time to time occurred, which showed how delicate was the link that bound the sepoy army to its masters. The sepoy was altogether a paradox. His moods were constantly changing. He was at one tractable and unmanageable, submissive and defiant, cheerful and sullen. Easily exhilarated, he was as easily depressed. He was tenacious to a degree of his real or fancied rights. Faithful to his salt, he was ready on slight provocation to complain of the quantity of that viand. A splendid soldier when in the right mood, he was too often in the wrong one. There are certain conditions under which he would not fight. A journey by sea involved loss of caste, and he consequently shrank from crossing the black water. He was unwilling to serve in a foreign country except on additional allowances; and he reserved for himself the right of determining what was or was not foreign soil. There had been over and over again mutinies in the Bengal army on these two points,—dissatisfaction as regards pay, and religious scruples against proceeding to certain places. But mutiny in the early days meant a mere refusal to work. The sepoys had no thought of murdering their officers or pulling down the government of the Company. The mutinous symptoms were treated by an inconsistent policy of retribution and concession, strength and weakness; with the upshot that some five or six years before the great crisis took place, Sir Charles Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, recorded his deliberate opinion that twenty-four regiments were only waiting an opportunity to rise. The high caste of the Bengal sepoys, which they always obtruded when they wished to avoid any disagreeable duty, was pampered, encouraged, and condoned by their officers to a dangerous extent. The pretensions of caste were incompatible with discipline, and discipline went to the wall. The sepoys learnt their power. And while they formed exaggerated notions of their own importance, a whole series of incidents had gradually loosened the ties which bound them to their officers. The position of the European officer, the native officer, and the sepoy, had alike deteriorated. Valuable privileges of the two latter classes had been swept away, such as the right of early hearing in civil courts and the exemption of their letters from postage dues. The authority of the regimental officers was minimised, and all real power concentrated at army head-quarters. Their allowances were cut down, their appeals rejected, and themselves made to eat dirt in the eyes of the sepoys. Then, corporal punishment for the sepoy was done away with, and, as the native officers said, the army ceased to fear. It is noteworthy that the flabby humanitarianism,

so different from humanity, of Lord William Bentinck, contented itself with freeing the native troops from this supposed stigma. His sentiment allowed it to remain in force with soldiers of his own race. As our territory increased, so did the sepoy's idea of his own power, and of his necessity to his employers. His grievances, whether real or imaginary, made him sullen and discontented. He became less faithful, more fastidious, and more variable in his moods. He did not forget that he had seen English soldiers capitulate to an Asiatic foe in the gloomy defiles of Afghanistan. With true Oriental inconsistency, he objected to annexation at one and the same time on the incompatible grounds that it would entail for him excessive labour, and throw him out of employment. These purely military grievances were crowned by Lord Canning's general Enlistment Act, under which all recruits had to bind themselves to cross the sea if it should be necessary to send them. Old sepoys trembled lest the oath should be deemed to be binding on themselves. But the sepoy was not only a soldier. A large proportion of the ranks of the army were filled with Brahmans, representatives of the landholding families, and subjects of the newly annexed kingdoms. Thus the sepoys, irritated and discontented as soldiers, were personally embittered against us by the policy that made enemies of royal families, the landed gentry, the aristocracy and the priesthood.

Such were the forces that were boiling and seething together in the years before 1857. The real or fancied wrongs of the sepoys *qua* military men, were altogether trivial as compared with those depending on other causes, especially the supposed danger to their religion. The Bengal Army had not hitherto furnished an instance of the full power of these pent-up forces. Its mutinies had been rather passive than active. But the Madras army, in which caste was less pampered, had undergone one convulsion which was a singularly accurate forecast of the great rebellion. In 1806 a mutiny at Vellore resulted in a horrible murder of the European garrison when they were asleep. It was heralded by manifold signs and disturbances, and a general uneasy feeling. An estrangement had gradually sprung up between officers and men, and the hearts of the sepoys were hardened. So the agents of the dethroned family of Tipu Sultán of Mysore found it an easy task to goad them to madness, by telling them of the danger that was impending upon their religion. Some absurd orders had been issued which interfered with their most cherished and harmless caste prejudices. They were bidden to shave off their beards and to wear hats with leather cockades made of the hide of swine and cows. These orders they not unnaturally believed



would be followed by a forcible conversion to Christianity. As in 1857, the most preposterous fables were circulated. And, as in 1857, the doubt still remains whether the conception of the movement arose in the breasts of the deposed royal family of Mysore, or whether their share in the scheme only commenced when they saw the very instrument that they could have wished for, ready to their hands in the shape of a mutinous and discontented soldiery. The two thunder clouds met and the fiery fluid exploded. Each, but for the other, might have passed quietly away and left the heavens clear. Each was essential to the other for the consummation of their common task.

The causes of the mutiny which had their rise in India itself, we have seen, were sufficiently varied. But even they were not all. We were at war with Persia, and the Shah bethought himself of a powerful weapon when he issued a proclamation in Northern India, bidding all true believers rise and gird up their loins to smite the infidel hip and thigh. From Russia, too, wonderful stories were brought by Azim Ulla Khán, the notorious agent of Nána Sahib, who had gazed with inward satisfaction upon the English soldiers in the Crimean trenches. His reports of the English losses were gulped down with eager credulity; and countenance was not wanting to his statements when European troops were withdrawn from India for service in the Russian war. The necessity for their withdrawal was the more apparent when, in the common native belief, the population of the British Isles did not exceed a hundred thousand souls. The exertions of foreign emissaries were able to raise up a rich harvest, for the seed fell upon a favourable soil. Previous attempts, as at Patna in 1845, had failed, for the soil was not ready for the sowing. They were always of the same type. They were always made in the name of religion. They were always dished up with a mass of lies. It was reserved for the last to meet with a *prima facie* semblance of truth.

In the middle of 1856 a strange phenomenon was observed. From village to village went the mysterious *chapati*, or flat cake of the country. Whence they came or what they signified no one knew; and they hardly seem to have excited, in the minds of the rulers, the feeblest curiosity. That they answered in some measure to the sending of the fiery cross through the Scotch highlands can hardly be doubted. But though a few who were wiser than the rest could read the signs of the times, their words were laughed to scorn. The doom of Cassandra was upon them. It was in vain, too, that friendly natives, for a considerable time before the outburst, entreated British officers to leave the country, or at all events send away

their families. The Government of Bombay received a well meant warning from an anonymous source, of the bitter feelings that were being caused by the proceedings of the Inám Commission. But it was all useless. All but a few were imbued with a blind confidence that all was well. The rulers of the land ate, drank, and were merry, married and gave in marriage, heedless of the storm that was gathering. Suddenly into this magazine of combustible material there was hurled a flaming firebrand. With the improved rifle that was issued to the troops, there was served out a new kind of cartridge. It was lubricated with the fat of beef and pork, and the end of the cartridge thus prepared had to be bitten off. But the flesh of kine is sacred to the Hindu, while pork is an abomination to the Mussalman. Yet the flesh of both had now to enter in at the mouth, and the defilement of the followers of the two great creeds was ensured. If the enemies of England had long sought an opportunity of injuring her, they had never in their wildest dreams hoped for such a chance as this. The Feringhi had deliberately placed a weapon in their hands. Lies had often been invented before, but they had never been based upon such a massive foundation. For here was a palpable fact that could not be explained away. "A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies."\* The dragon's teeth were sown. A very upas tree of falsehoods sprang up, and spread its poisonous limbs in every direction. The greased cartridges, it was said, were ordered by the Queen in Council in prosecution of a long-cherished design of embracing all her subjects within the Christian fold. The scheme had been suggested by the missionaries of Delhi, who had told their Sovereign that the cartridge would at once convert the inhabitants of India as by a magic charm. Ground bones, it was confidently believed, were mixed with flour and salt sold in the bazars, and animal fat with the ghee. Bones were burnt with the sugar, flesh was thrown into the wells, and all classes were to be defiled at once. A terrible fear, an awful mistrust spread abroad. If there were any who did not themselves object to the cartridge, they trembled before public opinion. They were bound down hopelessly in the bonds of slavery imposed upon them by the arch-demon caste, and they hugged their chains with a fierce persistency. They dreaded excommunication at the hands of their comrades and families should they touch the accursed thing.

How such an outrage could have been perpetrated by sane men; how such a blunder, worse than any conceivable crime,

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\* Tennyson.



could have been committed, is intelligible only under the supposition that it pleased Providence to smite the men in power with judicial blindness. The cartridge was in itself nauseous and disgusting. "I am not surprised," wrote General Anson to Lord Canning on March 23rd, 1857, "at their objection to this cartridge, having seen them. I had no idea they contained, or rather are smeared, with such a quantity of grease, which looks exactly like fat. After ramming down the ball the muzzle of the musket is covered with it." So unsavoury were they, that the English riflemen of the sixtieth could not restrain their feelings of disgust when called upon to use them.

Colonel Malleon has attempted to sum up the causes of the outbreak in two words, bad faith. The generalisation is altogether too sweeping. That there was some actual bad faith, cannot be denied. But it was a breach of promises rather implied than explicit. It was a mere mole-hill as compared with the mountain of bad faith that was imagined or invented. In the absence of definitely ascertained facts we are limited to conjecture, or at the most, plausible deduction as to the exact causes of the Mutiny. But that the popular idea which ascribes the rising entirely to the cartridges is absolutely wrong, there can be no shadow of doubt. There is a probability which almost amounts to a certainty, that a rising, in accordance with the mysterious prophecy, had been determined upon by the leaders of the various discontented sections of the population, both military and civil, for some years previously. The civil population, knowing their own physical weakness, did their utmost to work on the soldiery, who from their constitution reflected all phases of popular opinion, and who, while they had special grievances of their own, possessed and knew that they possessed enormous physical power. To the leaders of this vast combination of hostile forces, the defiling cartridge came as a veritable god-send, the most providential arrangement that the divine will could possibly have effected. To the superficial observer the rising, not unnaturally, appeared to be a purely military one. But enough has been written to show that, although it assumed the form of a mutiny, it was in its origin of a far more widespread nature, while at the same time, under the circumstances of the case, it could hardly have borne a different character. It is not easy to see what ingredient it lacked for it to constitute a national rebellion, so far as anything national can ever be produced in India. History furnishes no instance in which the Indian peasantry or population in general, as distinct from the soldiery, have ever shown more than a passive resistance to their conquerors. The war in which the Maráthas freed themselves from the Muhammadan yoke, was an unmistakably national

movement. But all that goes to make it so was closely paralleled by the incidents of 1857.

But whatever room there may be for controversy, we have a sufficiently definite basis for an enquiry as to a possible recurrence of disturbances. If providence allowed a second edition of the greased cartridges to take place, would it find all the elements of a conflagration as ready to hand as they were in 1857? If what happened thirty years ago at Mirath and Cawnpore was to take place to-morrow at Poona or Rawal Pindi, would the future historian be able to show how our wilful blindness had allowed the fuel to be collected for the fire? What classes, in a word, are now in a mood to take advantage of any similar embarrassments? India is a mysterious land, where the unforeseen is of frequent occurrence. In no country is it more futile to profess infallibility on any subject. Absolute certainty cannot be obtained. But happily there is every reason to believe that few of the predisposing causes of the great Mutiny are now in operation, and that most of the lessons have been learnt. At the same time it must be repeated that many of our actions which led up to the outburst were necessary and righteous, and that we could not have shirked them because they were certain to cause discontent. We will endeavour to examine the present circumstances and position of each of the classes who were hostile to us in 1857, and discuss the general feeling of the population as it appears to exist at present.

Lord Canning's decree of 1858, sanctioning the right of adoption in accordance with the religious ordinances of Hindus and Mussalmans, was communicated to the rulers of every Native State. The right of lapse was no more to be exercised. There was no need for the Nizám of Hydrabád, or the great potentates who bear the names of Sindia and Holkar, to feel that a failure of natural heirs would cause their realms to be added to the British dominions. Misrule has occurred in Native States, notably in Baroda. But our Government has succeeded in obtaining justice for the oppressed subjects of Oriental despots, without having recourse to the supreme measure which was apportioned to the recalcitrant King of Oudh. Had the pre-mutiny policy continued to be exercised, Baroda, Kolhapur and many other States would have been long since incorporated in the territories directly under the British Government. Far from making the reigning families our enemies, they are fully aware that the absolute security which they feel for their thrones is due entirely to the British Government. True, we have in the last few years pulled down dynasties in Afghanistan and Burmah. But in spite of the mischievous native press, the heads of native houses are



perfectly cognizant of the radical difference of the circumstances of the case. The princes of India have furnished a multitude of proofs of their devotion to the Supreme Government. The room for anxiety is, lest in the hour of danger their ability to aid us be found disproportionate to their willingness to do so. Their ancient name and fame may not suffice to hold in submission their formidable armies if they themselves are physically and mentally feeble, and are popularly regarded as mere puppets of the English Government.

It is not so easy to speak definitely concerning the position and sentiments of the aristocracy and landed gentry. Some traditions die hard ; and many families now sunk in obscurity, may still be brooding over the decay of their territorial influence, and their former high position. A large number may even yet be chafing against the restraints imposed upon them by a civilised administration. While, however, the existence of such as these cannot be ignored, it would be false statesmanship to attach to them an importance which they no longer possess. An interval, too, of thirty years of absolute peace cannot but have healed old sores, and wiped away ungracious memories ; while a new generation has sprung up to whom their fathers' wrongs are too unsubstantial and shadowy to stir them up to enthusiasm. The present aristocracy may be but a remnant of what once existed, a survival of those most fitted to encounter the various blows of fate. Such as it is, its members cannot but recognise that the integrity of their titles and the preservation of their estates depends absolutely and solely on our Government. Expediency then, if not gratitude, may bind them to the ruling race. Considerations of practical utility may be stronger than sentimental aspirations after an unattainable independence. In short, those that now enjoy prosperity would be with us. Those who might, for whatever reason, be against us, have lost their influence. There has been no measure like the spoliation of the Inám Commission, nothing like the wholesale upheavals of settlement and resumption to alienate any interests from us. The new generation of landed proprietors, small and great, can feel absolutely secure in their position. A certain stamp of time has been set upon the present order of things. A graceful recognition has been paid to the claims of the landed gentry by their nomination to the district boards constituted under the new scheme of local self-government. How far the experiment may benefit the mass of the people as yet remains to be seen. But that the extension of local self-government to the landed proprietors is extremely popular with them, is abundantly clear. Thus the balance of conflicting interests may be expected to turn in our favour. But the opposite scale

is not empty. In our haste for reform certain measures have been taken, which are not free from some suspicion of bad faith, and are greatly disliked by the landholders. In Bengal the Permanent Settlement was understood to cover all the charges of the State upon the land. But an additional tax has been imposed called the Road Cess for the extension of local communications, and in other provinces the addition of an anna to each rupee of land revenue for the creation of local funds for roads and education has been considered a breach of contract. The Bengal zemindar has a further grievance of his own. The Permanent Settlement left the ryot, or peasant cultivator, practically at the landlord's mercy. The new Bengal Tenancy Act drawn up by Lord Ripon and introduced by Lord Dufferin has, rightly as we think, interfered with a strong hand between the zemindar and his ryot. The Act was received with expressions of the most intense dislike from the whole body of zemindars. If the Act was righteous in itself it would have been unjustifiable to leave it undone for fear of offending vested interests. But it would be weak to ignore the offence that has been caused to influential men and its possible consequences. These facts cannot be disregarded, and they touch on very delicate ground. But as compared with the sweeping acts of spoliation before the Mutiny, they are clearly of minimum importance, and the blows that have been dealt are of the mildest character.

The families of Mussalman creed that have had old connection with the land can be less favourably spoken of than those of Hindu race. Their historic memories of influence and power are newer and more vivid. During native and earlier British rule they enjoyed the lion's share of high appointments under the Government. An age of examination has set in, and under this great leveller, Hindus have altogether surpassed Muhammadans. The conservative Moslem will not discard his cherished Persian and Arabic studies to cram for a competitive examination. He does not like the new system, and he is deeply indignant that his claims for pre-eminence are not accepted at his own valuation. The Government has shown the greatest eagerness to bestow appointments upon those Muhammadans who succeed in meeting the requirements of the new standard. It would not be fair to say that there are any definite symptoms of disaffection among Mussalmans. But there is undoubtedly less resignation to fate than among the Hindu population; and they constitute a more or less permanent source of anxiety. In taking leave of the subject of the landed interest, we must record our conviction, that whether for better or for worse, whether they are with us or against us, the tendency has indisputably been for the landlord



class to lose strength and influence, and become a less important element in the body politic.

The hereditary Brahmanical priesthood at the present day, except with some of the more educated classes, possesses an unimpaired influence. As of old nothing can be done without the Brahman's intervention. The exotic science of the West has after all not upset his claims to being regarded as a receptacle of divine knowledge. For he has, in a wonderful way, adapted himself to circumstances. He has mastered the new learning. It is the Brahman who works the telegraphs, and fills important offices on the railway. He can design and erect a bridge according to European principles, and put together a steam-engine; he is familiar with the medical science of Europe. He has vindicated his intellectual superiority over the races of India. For thirty years the priestly caste has seen that the Government has attempted no interference with their religion. The more thoughtful of its members may comprehend that their rulers attach little value to Christianity unless it is embraced in consequence of true and sincere conviction. The great majority recognise that far from showing any favour to native converts, Europeans have a marked antipathy for them; while Englishmen by no means display that enthusiasm for their own religion which was so conspicuous in the days of Edwardes and the Lawrences in the Panjáb. Natives have seen members of the prosleytising Salvation Army thrown into prison by the authorities of Bombay for breach of the laws concerning religious demonstrations in the streets. We no longer hear of zealous officers preaching the Gospel to their sepoy. Government has scrupulously avoided interference with child-marriage and questions of a similar nature, in which, be it observed, the priesthood show all its old intolerance. The sacerdotal caste cannot have failed to notice the alacrity with which the Legislative Council passed a law against the adulteration of ghee with animal fat, when it was discovered that ghee thus adulterated was being sold in the Calcutta bazars as the genuine article. But while the olive branch has been persistently held out to the priesthood, and all cause of offence carefully avoided, it would be rash to affirm that it is, as a body, loyal. Many of its members are so, but undoubtedly many are not; and they form an element of unrest. Nor can it be hoped that danger from Muhammadan fanaticism will ever cease to exist. It is like a specific disease that can be kept in check by appropriate remedies, but which cannot be eradicated from the system, and is ready to burst out on a favourable opportunity.

The native army is now a very different organization from what it was before 1857. Instead of 2,35,000 to our 45,000,

it consists of 1,30,000 to our 66,000, while we have a supplementary force of 10,000 volunteers. It contains no artillery except a few mountain batteries whose guns are carried on mules. Preponderance of strength is no longer a snare that may lure it on to destruction. There is an overwhelming strength of British troops over the principal treasuries, the arsenals, military positions and strategic points, while at the same time no semblance of distrust of our native battalions is shown. There is no longer an unhealthy proportion of the Brahman or any other caste in the ranks. The discipline of the native regiments is altogether improved, and is in a thoroughly satisfactory condition. All the sepoy enlist under the General Service Enlistment Act, and since the Mutiny, no refusal to cross the sea or serve in any foreign country has been experienced. The sepoy have shown themselves willing, nay, even enthusiastic to proceed to Abyssinia, Malta, Egypt, Burma and Kabul; though in the latter case the war became sufficiently unpopular to make recruiting seriously fall off. In all these years no stigma of disloyalty has attached itself to a single regiment, an event that never occurred in the days of the Company. But while no appreciable grievance has arisen, the military wage is undoubtedly too low as compared with the steadily increasing rates of pay for other work throughout the country. Many of the cavalry, especially, are very badly off. But still the sepoy receive extra allowances, known as grain compensation, when the price of their food exceeds a certain rate; and in all campaigns that have been undertaken, batta has been distributed with a liberal hand. On several occasions sepoy and native officers have had the proud distinction of being taken to England and placed before their sovereign.

While the sepoy are still connected with the landed interest, they are now drawn from a humbler class, and their sympathies lie more with the peasant proprietors than the landlords, with a well-to-do rather than with a sinking or a discontented class. They belong to a body of men which has every reason to be satisfied with British rule. In many respects they comprise a very different material from that which formerly existed. They are probably more military. They are certainly less martial. They are not as a rule men who fight for fighting's sake. The warlike spirit of Indian races soon decays from desuetude. Their martial impulse, their instinct for battle, even their lust for plunder, have in great measure died away. There is less *éclat* about their profession. They enlist or refrain from enlisting upon a cool calculation as to their prospects in the army compared with those in any other opening. Of proved loyalty, their loyalty is dependent on



self-interest, based upon the advantages of a fair provision for life, regular pay, and certain pension. The spirit of patriotism in a mercenary army serving a foreign master cannot be expected to be very highly developed. In the expressive language of the East, they serve the Sirkâr to fill their bellies. But even from this narrow point of view, the army is not the prize profession that it was. Railways, mills, manufacturies absorb a large number of men, who in old days would have sought their fortune in the army.

The relations between the sepoys and their European officers are on a satisfactory basis. There is liking without an excessive or misplaced enthusiasm. The position of the officer in a sepoy regiment is fully equal to that of one in a Queen's regiment. An officer would sooner doubtless command British soldiers or serve for half the period of his service in his own country. But an officer is no worse a soldier because his pocket cannot afford this luxury. The staff corps is as full of keen soldiers as the cadres of British regiments. All the staff corps officers have served their apprenticeship in British regiments, and they are in every way an identical body of officers with those of the Queen's service. Altogether, while the state of the army affords no ground for doubt as to its loyalty, there is no reason to suppose that its qualities as a fighting machine are impaired. It may be fairly assumed that foreign intrigues or internal sedition would not find a fertile soil to work upon in its ranks.

As to the population at large certain generalisations may be drawn. A foreign government must necessarily be unpopular with persons of restless temperament, for whose ambition and energies our rigid system leaves no scope. "There will always, too, be those," in Sir Richard Temple's words, "whose pulse throbs at the anticipation of coming tempest, and who wait expectantly for disturbances." The educated and student class who are yearly turned out in shoals from our universities, are possessed with a dangerous discontent at the want of openings for them in Government service. In connection with these classes must be named the vernacular press, including the native papers published in English. Its influence is a matter of controversy. Its wish to embarrass the Government is beyond all doubt. It abounds with treasonable passages calculated to excite hatred against British rule. In the unfortunate controversy of the Ilbert Bill, it disclosed a flood of hatred for all things English that could hardly have been believed. It has also had the effect of disseminating widely a fantastic and incorrect account of European politics; and deductions founded on the episodes of Khartoum and Panjdeh may be as dangerous and delusive as those which Azim Ulla

Khan drew from what he saw in the trenches before Sebastopol. The subject of the press reminds us again of the common sense of Elphinstone, who protested vigorously against the introduction of a free press into a country where liberty was ever synonymous with license.

The vast mass of the peasant population acquiesce passively rather than cheerfully in our rule. The remembrance of the oppression from which we delivered them is gone. They have no appreciative memory of the past to enable them to realise the advantages of the present. But while these are indifferent, there is always a mass of fanatics, hangers-on of courts and camps, and a mob in the great cities who are always ready for mischief. On the whole, however, a scrutiny of the results of thirty years' peace is sufficiently encouraging. The sky is not altogether clear. But while there is no reason to suppose that the Government is inclined to ignore any timely consciousness of danger, we feel justified in believing that there is a deeply founded peace without laying ourselves open to the charge of crying peace when there is no peace. It is impossible to deny that at any instant another thunderbolt may be hurled out of a clear sky. Some ill-considered order about vaccination or compulsory education, might set the whole country in a ferment. But there is not the slightest reason to believe that such an order would be welcomed as an opportunity by the leaders of the various sections of native society as the greased cartridge undoubtedly was. The lessons of the Mutiny have been learnt to an almost unexpected extent. If on a few delicate points, a caution may be needed, there is no reason to suppose that it will not receive due attention.

EDMUND C. COX.

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ART. IV.—THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN BRITISH INDIA ;  
OR HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT  
DONE ITS DUTY ?

“DOEST thou well to be angry for the gourd ?” And he said, “I do well to be angry even unto death.” Such were the words of the Prophet Jonah, 800 B.C. : it is well even in this age of hasty judgment and rash words, to be angry, when statements are made by public men in public places which are wholly unwarrantable, and the Government of a great dependency, the greatest that History ever knew, is held up to scorn for having initiated and continued for more than a century, a policy of the damnable nature of deliberately destroying the morals of two hundred millions placed in their charge and at their mercy, for the sake of realising a paltry revenue. As one of the chief speakers put it, “The wants of the Indian Exchequer are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible to go on licensing more drink-shops.” There is no getting out of the difficulty : the charge is not made on this occasion against the British people, the great shipping and commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, but against the Government of India.

How did it come about ? For more than twenty-five years there has existed in England an association called the “Church of England Temperance Society,” which by its numerous branches has done an infinity of good to the people of this island, who are notoriously a thirsty race, and, in addition to many excellent qualities which have placed them in the front rank of nations past and present, do not possess, and never have possessed the great grace of Temperance. Total Abstinence is the miserable and desperate remedy of the dipsomaniac, the weak-hearted and coward, while temperance in all things lawful is the glory of the Christian man, using the good gifts of his Creator, as they were intended to be used. Happy are those who from their youth up, not under the influence of a pledge, or a command, or a craze, have of their own free will and inclination learnt to dispense with the use of stimulants and tobacco : but this grace is not given to all, although the number is annually increasing. The above-mentioned Association determined in 1886 to make a new departure, and to carry the war all over the world. A letter was addressed to the Primate of England by the Chairman of the Society, enunciating this new policy, and stating with regard to British India

that "a nation of abstainers was gradually becoming a nation of drunkards": that "drunkenness had disappeared, but was reintroduced by the British": that "nothing was done to check the evil by legislative measures": that "nearly every village had its liquor shop, and the natives believed that they were *conferring a favour on the Government* by buying the liquor." We are not told in the pamphlet to whom we are indebted for the last sentiment, but it looks as if the writer had had a rise taken out of him by some astute Babu from a Presidency College, who had acquired bad habits; but Archdeacon Farrar is credited with the following dictum, which no doubt drew down rounds of discriminating and temperate applause:

"We have girdled the world with a zone of drink."

The selection of authorities in the appendix to the pamphlet contains no single name which carries any authority whatever: one person suggests that total abstinence should be a condition precedent to Baptism, for which there is no warrant in Holy Scripture: another person translates "sharáb" as "shame water": this rendering may deceive excited hearers in a public meeting, but will not hold water in Asia, and has no warrant in the dictionary. Another person cannot see any other explanation for the increase of income, than the encouragement by the State of the sale, forgetting that a higher rate of taxation, only limited by the margin of profit to the smuggler, would have the same result. A great increase in the amount of Police fines in the metropolitan area in a given period would imply, not that the Magistrates had encouraged intemperance and wife-beating, but had punished it by heavier fines. The late King of Oudh is credited with the merit of not making a revenue out of the sale of spirits: it is true, for he allowed distilleries to be worked without any check whatsoever. This would hardly seem a wise policy either in India or Westminster. Another person states, and no doubt correctly, that the educated classes betake themselves to imported liquors, and infers, that the Government is entirely responsible for this state of things. Has that person considered whether in a country of which free trade is the glory, any import can be excluded without raising difficult complications with British and foreign producers? The same person remarks, that the heathen regard the use of intoxicating liquors as a sign of a Christian. I shall show below, that this person must have imperfectly studied the literature of India to arrive at such a conclusion. Nanda Lal Ghose, a Barrister, undertakes to state, that the Demon of Drink was introduced by a Christian Government. I must refer him to a closer study of the esteemed writings of his own countrymen. Another person states (as the result of



six months' tour in India) that the natives, if left to themselves, would not have *licensed* shops for the sale of the vile alcoholic compounds which come from Europe. No doubt, that, if the State control and tax were removed, there would be an unlimited amount of *unlicensed* shops. And with all deference to the same person's opinion formed in the railway-train, or the hotel, or rest-houses, and unassisted by the least knowledge of the vernacular, I do not think that in matters of morality the Government of India falls behind the ethical code of the people, as unquestionably the slaughter of kine was prohibited while the slaughter of widows, female children, aged relations and lepers, was considered to be a religious duty, and the practice has been only abandoned, or checked, under the pressure of severe penalties, without any assistance from the moral consciousness of the nation. During the Mutinies the Emperor Napoleon III, received a petition from India praying for assistance to drive out the British, who had forbidden their time-honoured customs, among which these amiable customs were enumerated.

But another movement had been made with less sound of the trumpet, perhaps with more soberness of statement, by missionary societies to stem, if possible, the stream of liquor which was flowing from European ports into the rivers of West Africa. In December 1884, while the Berlin Conference was sitting to arrange the affairs of the Dominion of the Kongo, at my suggestion, a deputation of the Church Missionary Society was received by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to lay before him the state of the case, and urge the introduction into the treaty of some clause, restricting by a system of excise the importation of European liquor into the basin of the Niger. The Bishop of Sierra Leone made an impressive speech, and I was permitted to follow him, and I ventured to remark, that the missionaries were not seeking their own personal interests, but those of the people who could not speak for themselves, and that they did not ask for impossibilities, such as the absolute prohibition of the import of spirits, but only for the regulation by means of excise and licenses of liquor shops. Great credit should be given to the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States for their gallant attempt to introduce a clause, but it was necessary to make a compromise with Germany and France, and the clause was abandoned. In October 1885, the German missionaries assembled at Bremen in North Germany, brought to notice the lamentable consequences to the people of Africa of the uncontrolled import of spirituous liquors, chiefly from Hamburgh, and Dr. Zahn, the Inspector of the North German Missionary Society, published a powerful German pamphlet

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on the subject, and was good enough to make communications to me, which enabled me on the 20th January 1886, to bring before an assembly of representatives of all the great Missionary Societies at the Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopgate Street, the following resolutions :—

A. That the Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland should send a deputation to the Foreign Office, to point out the ruin which threatens the Negro populations of West Africa generally, and of the basin of the Niger in particular, by the unrestricted importation of spirituous liquors from Northern Europe, and to inform the Foreign Secretary that the German and German-Swiss Missionary Societies assembled at Bremen last October have brought the subject before the notice of the Imperial Government at Berlin with the same object, admitting frankly that the town of Hamburg is one of the greatest offenders in this matter.

B. The deputation should impress upon Her Majesty's Government, that the present state of affairs will not only prevent the development of legitimate trade in the manufactures and products of Europe, but will destroy, physically as well as morally, the population of a country, rescued from the Slave Trade by the expenditure of British lives and resources.

C. The remedies suggested as feasible, in which the German Societies agree, are—

(I.) The imposition of a substantial Import-duty, fixed at a scale just low enough as not to make smuggling profitable.

(II.) The introduction of a system of Licences, by which the sale would be restricted to certain shops, maintained by responsible parties. A substantial fee to be levied for each licence.

(III.) The forbidding of any British person or British Company remunerating labour, or bartering for natural produce, in spirituous liquors.

(IV.) The discontinuance on the part of the British authorities of making presents of cases and bottles of spirits to Natives, or offering or receiving entertainment in spirits on the occasion of public ceremonies.

The Revenue collected from the Import-duty and Licence-fee will suffice to maintain ample Government establishments for the purpose of enforcing the regulation of Customs and Excise now proposed.

(D.) The leading secular organs of public opinion should be invited to bring home to the public conscience the lamentable consequence of the neglect of remedial measures *before the evil exceeds the possibility of control and remedy*. A promising market, both of export of Native produce and the import of European manufactures, will be destroyed by the short-sightedness of the first generation of merchants, who would literally kill the goose to get at the golden eggs: this point of view concerns the manufacturer and merchant; but the Missionary Societies ever have their thoughts solely fixed upon the awful crime of ruining millions of a race in a low state of culture, and unable to protect themselves, by the introduction of rum, gin, and alcohol, *of the very existence of which the Negroes never heard before, and with which they could not supply themselves except by the agency of European merchants*.



It was agreed, after discussion, that the subject should be referred to a Committee delegated by each Society, who should confer, and make a collective report to their several committees, and that final action should then be taken. This eventuated in an able and comprehensive pamphlet, entitled "Trafficking in Liquor with the Natives of Africa," from the pen of the Rev. Horace Waller, so well known as the companion of Livingstone, stating the whole case, and published in the beginning of the year 1887. I have alluded to these proceedings in detail, as no doubt those who disagree with me in my argument, defending the Government of India against the unjust aspersions thrown upon it, may be tempted to cry out, that I am a kind of Philistine, and one who cares little for the welfare of native races : on the contrary, it is the leading object of my life, and I was up in arms for the people of West Africa long before it had occurred to the Church of England Temperance Society to lend an ear to the exaggerations and downright falsehoods which have for the present arrested its useful and benevolent career.

On the 30th of March of the year 1887, a meeting was held in Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, of all persons interested in this great subject, "The Demoralization of Native Races by the Drink Traffic." The Bishop of London was in the Chair. The practical object of the meeting was to appoint a Committee to collect information, and I among others was requested to attend, and to allow my name to be placed on the General Committee, to which I gladly assented, believing, in the innocence of my heart, that the term "Native Races" was meant to include those unfortunate races of Africa and Oceania which, being under no settled form of Government able to protect them, were at the mercy of the unprincipled European importers of European spirituous liquors, as described in Mr. Horace Waller's pamphlet.

The Bishop of London made an admirable opening address carrying every one with him. He was followed by Archdeacon Farrar, who proposed the first resolution, and astonished many of his hearers, (and among them most particularly myself, by stating, that his portion of the task related to British India. Now India is a great dependency of the British Crown, with a Constitution of its own, a Budget of its own, owing nothing to Great Britain, and paying no tribute to Great Britain, governed under a system of law by able and high-minded men, sent out from time to time by both of the great parties of the State, who are assisted in the subordinate administration political, fiscal, and judicial, by the great Civil Service of India, which is elected by competition from the flower of the youth of each year, restrained by covenants, controlled by rules, guaranteed

by law, and upheld in the high and steadfast path of honour and duty by feelings of self respect, and the consciousness of integrity never questioned, and purity of motive, upon which no shadow during this century had ever been cast. In a book which I published this year, "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 2nd Series, when reviewing the miserable state of Egypt, I contrasted with it the state of affairs in British India, remarking, "that the British official, wherever he goes, carries "with him in his office box the dignity of a gentleman and "a Christian: under no circumstances, or in any place, and "in any environment, would he condescend to do or say what "is false or mean: he would shrink from what is cruel and "treacherous: he would proudly turn away from what is "wanton or sordid." And yet Archdeacon Farrar, with knowledge, or without knowledge (it matters not which), that the administration of British India is entirely in the hands of the Covenanted Civil Service, with the exception of the post of Viceroy, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, in strong, slow, and measured words, dared to say—

"They found India sober and left it drunken."

As the Head Master of a great public school, he could not resist a quotation whether apposite or not

"pudet hæc opprobria nobis  
"Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse, repelli."

The indignation, which I and other members of the Indian Services felt, when we listened to this speech, can scarcely be described: the desire was to interrupt the meeting by loud protests, but the kind and wise address of the Bishop of London held me back, as to disturb the meeting would be to vex him: my chief desire was to get away from a hall, where such things were uttered and applauded.

He was followed by Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., who, freed from the restraint of the presence of Under-Secretaries of State for India, and ex-Governors of Bengal and Bombay, who had to a certain degree kept him in order in the House of Commons, mounted his hobby, and in order that full justice may be done to his eloquence and accuracy of statement, I quote from the report in the "Rock" newspaper:

During his recent visit to India he found a complete unanimity of opinion as to the rapid increase of intemperance. The natives imitate Englishmen in drinking with disastrous effects, for they have not the same power of self-control, and their constitution is not so strong. *Before the English were in India the sale of strong drink was unknown. By religion and custom the people of India were total abstainers.*

Mr. Smith produced a profound impression by his calm and clear statements. He gave some items from a letter which



he had received from an English missionary, which created a painful impression.

"No one would say or think," says the missionary, "that Government desire to foster the vice of drunkenness in its Indian subjects, whereupon Mr. Smith remarked amid cheers, "*That is a charitable statement,*" and continuing the reading of the missionary's letter, said : "But Government wants *money*, and the Board of Revenue has found out that one way to get it is to encourage the drink trade, and to put facilities before the people generally to take to the habit of drinking, in order to push on the trade and get in a larger revenue, so that really the Indian Government is guilty of the crime of pushing a trade for fiscal objects, which is fast spreading the terrible evil of drinking and drunkenness throughout the country." The speaker went on to describe how this had been effected by the out-still system. "Formerly certain central distillers were alone permitted. Instead of this, under the new system, native distillers were at liberty to open their own stills and manufacture as much as they liked and what they pleased, by paying a monthly rent to the Government for permission to manufacture and sell. This brought the liquor down from about two shillings or so a bottle to about two pence, and the stills multiplied a hundredfold. The consequence was there was a regular rush for the drink from all classes, the *very beggars and boys and women* taking to it. There are two facts of importance which should not be lost sight of in native drinking. First, natives have no idea of moderation in the use of strong drinks. They try to get drunk, and therefore they imbibe by the bottle, not by the glass. Moreover, while many Europeans reform and give up the drink, the native goes on to the bitter end. Once a Native becomes a hard drinker, he seldom or never can give it up, for the want of moral courage. The revenue in India is chronically short. The mass of people are poor beyond any standard of poverty known at home. We hold India by prestige, but in the long run, we shall only hold India by the prestige of righteousness.

He thought that the greatest kindness an audience can do to the Government of India is to elevate their standard of righteousness, a sentiment which elicited warm approval. Mr. Smith quoted the testimony of a native doctor to the effect that 90 per cent. is the proportion of deaths from drink, and, making every allowance for Orientalism, the statement is terribly appalling.

I quite admit that the throne of the Empress of India is founded on righteousness, and that the British nation is only permitted to rule over that great country on the condition that their rule should be righteous ; but truth is usually coupled with righteousness, and here it appeared to be entirely dissociated. A French downright hater of Great Britain would have carefully collected his facts and marshalled his authorities. An English clergyman, and a member of the British Parliament, seemed under no such necessity. A line of Juvenal came to my recollection :

"Quid Romæ faciam ? mentiri nescio."

I left the hall, feeling, with many others, that the liquor merchants had effected a great triumph. Truth was the only weapon with which we could meet them : with carefully collected facts and tested statistics, the Committee of the Missionary Societies had prepared for a direct attack on the common enemy, the merchants of Great Britain, Germany, France, and America. Some of the Missionary Societies of the last-mentioned country had expressed to me their entire concurrence in the attempt that was to be made. By the speeches of the Archdeacon and Mr. Samuel Smith, the whole character of the struggle was altered : the attack was now upon the constitutional Government of British India, or rather on the covenanted servants of that Government : it was a charge of a character worse than that made by Cicero upon Verres, inasmuch as the plunder of provinces from personal greed is a less heinous offence than the systematic poisoning of the bodies and souls of a great and historic nation for the miserable object of adding a few lakhs of rupees to the revenue of the State. Moreover, if the speakers only understood their brief, they must have felt that the line of Juvenal applied to them :

*"Dant veniam corvis : vexat censura columbam."*

The British merchant who brought the brandy and whisky and gin and choice wines in such abundance to India, the British planters of the Mauritius, who flooded Bombay with rum, were the real offenders, if any tangible offences existed. With singular inconsistency, after Sir Charles Warren and the Negro Missionary James Johnson had pleaded earnestly and truly for Africa, after Mr. Caine, M.P., had made a speech about Egypt, which had no bearing upon the subject after Mr. Horace Waller had vainly striven to bring back the meeting to the region of common sense and calm judgment, the following resolutions were passed, which bear no relation whatever to the false and libellous statements of the chief speakers, and which clearly indicate, that this attack upon the Government of India was not contemplated by the Director and Secretaries of the Church of England Temperance Society, for no one can hesitate for a moment in giving their hearty consent to these resolutions :

1. That the traffic in strong drink as now carried on by merchants belonging to Christian nations in India, Africa, and most of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, has become the source of wholesale demoralization and ruin to the native races and is proving a fatal stumbling-block to the progress of the Gospel among them.

2. That in the interests of Christianity and humanity the facts bearing on the traffic and its results should be made more generally known to the people of England and other countries, with a view to the formation of a sound public opinion, and eventually to the passing of legislative enactments for the repression of such traffic.



3. That for this purpose a Committee be formed, to include, besides members of the Executive of the Church of England Temperance Society, representatives of the leading Missionary and Temperance Societies.

But the mischief did not end with the meeting. No one would have troubled themselves with the platform speeches of a travelling Member of Parliament, the creature of the hour: we have known the genus in India for the last forty years, the man who asks questions, makes copious notes, and looks as if he could see through a millstone. King Solomon remarks, that there were three things which were too wonderful for him, and four which he knew not: but in modern times there is a fifth which is beyond the comprehension of the most wise,—it is the way in which the travelling Member of Parliament is gulled, and the plausibility with which he tries, on his return to England, to gull others: he meets an intelligent-looking man in the railway carriage, or passes a night at the home of the most crotchety man of the station, and he stuffs his travelling bag with crude undigested facts, and then gives it out on a Manchester or Liverpool platform with the air of a Prophet who has just come down from the Mountain, forgetting that the Science of Rule of subject millions is the greatest and noblest of sciences, only mastered by few after the study and practice of decades, and not during an excited tour of six weeks. But the chief orator on this occasion was a man of a different stamp, a real man; one of the greatest of the Metropolitan Clergy; one who has done for the young men of London more than any living man; one whose written works are read by thousands, and whose spoken words are listened to by hundreds, in fact, one of the great Workers and Speakers of the period.

What was to be done? It was clear to me what I must do, *viz.*, at once to resign my seat on the proposed Committee, and to decline any joint action with the Society, until these speeches were as openly disallowed, as they were openly applauded. Canon Ellison in his reply to my letter stated that—

As far as he knew, no attempt had been made to disprove the statements contained in the pamphlet: he further stated that the object of the Committee was to sift and test such assertions; to disprove, if truth should require it, quite as much as to prove, and in some cases to vindicate the character of Government unjustly assailed. He assured me that the Committee could be in no way responsible for the statements made at the Meeting: he begged me finally to continue on the General and Executive Committees.

At a subsequent date I was invited to join the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the reply of the Viceroy of India,

which will be noticed below. From the first I felt that Canon Ellison and the Church of England Temperance Society were not responsible for the indiscreet utterances made in Prince's Hall, but I felt also, that I could serve the cause, the great cause which we all had in common, by standing aloof, waging my own battle, and trying to clear the air of these clouds of ignorance, and make the way open to an advance based on facts and the truth, not on sensational and inaccurate statements.

Mr. Horace Waller entirely agreed with me: as he was one of the Speakers at the Prince's Hall Meeting, he was stout-hearted enough to speak out his mind and tell the audience, "that a man who is intemperate in his facts, is just as much "a dram-drinker to his own harm as any dram-drinker of "the ordinary kind, and that figures could be brought together "and presented to a meeting, which *were a great many degrees "above proof.*" These honest remarks were hooted by an excited audience who only cared to listen to prophets who prophesied according to their own views. It was determined not to dissolve, but only suspend the action of the representative Committee of the Missionary Societies; it would not have been wise to allow this great subject to fall exclusively into the power of the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society, which was clearly under the temporary influence of fanatics, but which in a short time would recover its equilibrium and become the centre of renewed efforts in the great cause.

I lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Report of the speeches of the Meeting to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for India, praying that means should be at once adopted to disprove the assertion, "that it is the policy of "Government to encourage drunkenness in India with a view "of increasing the revenue," and I was assured that the charge was groundless: that the consumption of spirits was repressed by a repressively high duty; and that since 1872, in consequence of improved excise administration, the number of liquor-shops had steadily and appreciably decreased, notwithstanding the increase of the population during that period. I addressed the Under Secretary of State for India privately at his house, pointing out the extreme gravity of the statements made, and the receipt of my letter was acknowledged. A despatch was expected in a few weeks from the Viceroy of India in reply to the pamphlet of the Church of England Temperance Society, sent out in the previous autumn. The task which I set before myself divided itself into three heads:

I. Did the British in very deed find the people of India total abstainers from the use of spirituous liquors and drugs, or even temperate users of the same?



II. Has it been the policy of the State, and of the servants of the State, to enhance the revenue of the excise at the expense of the morals of the people?

III. Has the revenue of the excise increased beyond what was to be expected from a people doubled in population, quadrupled in wealth, and exposed to the insidious dangers which accompany an advance in civilisation and increased intercourse with other nations, those nations famous for wholesale export of spirituous liquors?

The first point was historical, and my proofs had to be collected from a long list of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Hindustani writers, extending over more than two thousand years: fortunately for my argument, just as the use of wine for purposes of intoxication can be traced back to the time of Noah, so in India the use of intoxicating liquor is vouched for in the Veda, the most ancient and sacred of Hindu books, and can be traced, as I shall proceed to show, from generation to generation to the present time in the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan and Sikh annals. The second point, and the third, would rest upon the expected despatch of the Viceroy, upon the Report of the Bengal Commission of 1883-1884, and the Annual Administration Reports of British India, presented each year to Parliament. Things in British India are fortunately not done in a corner, and the Government of India is famous for its outspokenness, for the naked way in which it exposes both the successes and the failures of its administration: the quinquennial change of every high officer of State alone renders this possible. There is no desire of an hereditary blockhead to screen the errors of his scoundrel ancestor. Each Viceroy and each Governor knows well that he leaves his character behind him. Lord Dufferin's despatch, dated June 25th, 1887, was published on the 4th August, but did not reach me till September 10th, just as I was starting on a long journey to Morocco: so I contented myself for the time with a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on the 16th of that month, as a cartel thrown down to my antagonists, and on my return I proceed to make my reply to Archdeacon Farrar's thesis in detail. I deal with the first part—

“We found India sober.”

It so happened that in 1873, a very distinguished Hindu scholar of Calcutta, Lala Rajendra Lala Mitra, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, published, in the Journal of that Society, an essay on the use of spirituous liquors by the Hindu, tracing the practice, by quotations from the most esteemed Sanskrit authors, from the earliest ages. To me it seemed, when I first read this essay, in exceedingly bad taste thus to parade the weaknesses of his countrymen, and I should think poorly

of an English literary man, who out of pure malice traced back by quotations from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Caedmon, the drunkenness of the Anglo-Saxon up to the time of the origin of the race; yet this great Sanskrit scholar took the trouble to do so in 1873, and in 1881 republished it with other of his learned essays in his collective volumes, "Indo-Aryans, Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediæval History." As in the foot-notes of his essay he gives the original Sanskrit quotations from each author quoted in extenso, any one who knows Sanskrit can satisfy himself of their accuracy. The quotations are easily accessible from the great epic and dramatic authors and the Veda, and I have them in my private library: it is indeed a most astonishing revelation; perhaps one ought to have expected it, but I certainly did not do so. I attributed the deplorable habits of intoxication, so notorious among certain races and tribes, to a decadence from a higher standard of life, rather than an uninterrupted continuance from their cradle.

Rajendra Lala remarks that drinks have a peculiar charm which enable them to hold their ground against the deductions of science and mandates of religion; that the history of Mahometan civilization illustrated this assertion, for no one condemned more emphatically the use of wine than Mahomet; and yet that there is no Mahometan country, where the consumption is not considerable. Gibbon remarked cynically last century, that the vines of Shiraz have always prevailed over the law of Mahomet. When the Indic branch of the Aryan race crossed the Hindu-Kush at some remote period into the Panjáb, the earliest Brahman settlers indulged largely in "Soma"-beer, and strong spirits. To the gods the most acceptable offering was "Soma"-beer, and wine or spirit, which in India are identical, was sold in the shops. In the Rig-Veda Sanhita (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 204) occurs a hymn which shows, that wine was kept in leather bottles, and freely sold to all comers. A minority of authorities doubt whether "Soma" was intoxicating, but all admit that "Sarâ" or arrack manufactured from rice-meal, and also alluded to in the Rig-Veda, was highly so; and this clearly shews, that the Vedic Hindu of a period long anterior to the Christian era, did countenance the use of spirits: but Professor Whitney clearly proves, that "Soma" was intoxicating: it is supposed to have been the juice of a climbing plant, the "*Asclepias acida*" which was extracted, fermented, and produced exhilaration grateful to the priests. The liquid had power to elevate the spirits and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which an individual was prompted to do, and found capable of doing, deeds beyond his natural powers. Soma was therefore deemed divine, and became a



deity, the myth running on parallel lines to that of Dionysus or Bacchus, who came from India into Hellas.

As time went on the later Veda forbade the use of spirits for the purpose of animal gratification, and said, that drinking was as bad as the murder of a Brahman. The Smṛiti included wine-bibbing among the five capital crimes, and ordered the severest punishment. Manu, 500 B.C. and others, denounced the use, and fortified their dicta by legendary tales of frightful punishments; yet it is clear, that at no period in their history has the Hindu nation abstained. Priests and respectable and pious householders did so, but they were but a fraction of the community, and there was at all times, as there is now, a considerable amount of hypocrisy on the subject. Sanskrit literature, both ancient and mediæval, leaves no doubt, by its casual allusions and unpremeditated admission, that wine was extensively used by all classes at all times with rare exceptions of individuals. Manu found the public feeling so strong, that he remarks, that there is no turpitude in drinking; but that abstinence produces a signal compensation. The soldier and the merchant (or in other words the Kshatriya Rajpūt, and the Vaisya, or trader, both of whom belonged to the order of the Dwija or twice-born) must not drink arrack, but were allowed the choice of all other liquors, whose name was legion; the Sudra, or lower class, might indulge freely without restraint: the Brahman, or highest class, must totally abstain.

The rules or aphorisms known as the "Sūtra" are dated, some about 600 B.C. anterior to Manu, and some later: the Brahmana are of various dates, the Aitareya being fixed at 700 B.C.: in them we find, that not only the Soma and Sará retained their firm hold of the people, but we read of new candidates for the public taste, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia*, so popular as a drink to this day, the Gandi or sugar-rum, the Tari or toddy, from the palm: so the drinks of the Hindu, as well as their castes and religious rites, and magnificent literature have an unbroken lineage of at least twenty-six centuries.

In the fascinating epic poem of the Ramáyana by Valmíki, which has been my delight for more than forty years, we find frequent notices of wine and drinking. The great sage Visvámitra, himself the reputed author of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, entertained the great sage Vasistha with Maireya (or rum) and Sára (or arrack), Bhardwāja, another great sage, offered wine to Bharata, King of Ayodya, and his soldiers, who stayed one night with him during their search for Rama. Sita, the beautiful and faithful wife of Rama (himself an incarnation of the Supreme Deity), promised to offer to the River Goddess, Jamna, in the event of her safe return, one thousand jars of arrack. Nor was she herself, nor her husband,

the incarnation of Vishnu, averse from the cheering cup, for we read in the last book of the noble Epic, how Rama, embracing Sita with both his hands, made her drink pure Mairaya wine or rum, even as the God Indra makes Sachi partake of nectar. Nor was the practice confined to the Court, for it is incidentally mentioned, that King Bharata found his city Ayodya plunged in grief for the loss of Rama, one symptom of grief being the absence of the exhilarating aroma of arrack. Moreover, in the palaces of Sugriva, the King of the Monkeys, and of Ravana, the King of the Rakhsha, the greatest glory was the smell of arrack, as the poets could not conceive the notion of luxury, joy and splendour, without the presence of intoxicating liquor in ample abundance.

In the Mahabharata, another magnificent epic of a later date than the Ramáyana, the leading characters, whether heroes or demigods, or Krishna, himself the Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, are described as indulging in strong drinks, and no pleasure party was complete without them: we read of Krishna and Arjuna, with their wives and sisters and daughters, indulging in drink. Queen Suddeshna is described as sending her maid to get a flagon of good drink for her use: the Yadava of whose race Krishna was born in the flesh, are described as being so overcome with drink at a seaside watering-place, that they destroyed each other in sheer drunkenness.

The doctrines of Buddah must have contributed much to check drunkenness and the use of wine, as well as of flesh. but could not suppress either. The Játaka and Avadána abound with stories of drunkenness: it must be recollected that the Játaka are the narratives of the former births of Buddha himself; whether they are historical or fanciful tales, they reflect the notions of their compilers on this subject, In the sculptures of Sanchi are figures of ladies of high rank, and their attendants holding cups and flagons. In a Buddhist drama, the Nagananda, the plot turns upon the vagaries of a drunkard, who had for his love one of the attendants of the queen. In other love-scenes the lover is described as offering overflowing goblets to his lady-love. We may look at the subject from another point of view. Mr. Spence Hardy in his Manual of Buddhism, tells us how the use of intoxicating liquors is forbidden: when only as much tari, or toddy, is drunk, as can be held in the palm of the hand, it is a minor offence: it is greater, when the amount can be held in both hands; and greater still, when so much is drunk that all things turn round. To constitute the crime of drinking there must be (1) intoxicating liquors made from flour, bread, or other kind of food: (2) actual intoxication produced by these liquors: (3) they must be taken with the intention of producing the



effect: (4) they must be taken of free will. Many a regular toper would escape punishment by an ingenious application of these rules. Moreover, the Christian moralist would scarcely think the Buddhist motive for temperance sufficient, being only to avoid the six evil consequences (1) loss of wealth; (2) arising of quarrels; (3) production of diseases, like sore eyes; (4) bringing down the disgrace of rebuke from parents or superiors; 5) exposure to shame for going about naked; (6) loss of judgment for carrying on the affairs of the world. It is clear that the use of liquor taken moderately was not deemed wrong, and that wordly advantage was the only incentive to induce a man not to degrade himself to the position of a beast by getting drunk.

The great dramatist Kalidása probably lived after the Christian era: the latest date assigned is 600 A.D. In the famous drama of the Sakontala, the Superintendent of the Police, who is also brother of the King, proposes to spend the present which he had received, in a glass of good liquor at the next wine shop. An English policeman could not have been more pronounced in his taste for strong drink. In the fine heroic poem, the Raghuvansa, by the same poet, one of the grandest of poems, drinking booths are described as being set up at Rajamandri by the soldiers of Raghu, an ancestor of Rama, to drink the famous cocoa-nut liquor of that place. It is clear also, that women of quality drank in their husband's society; for in the great poem by Kalidasa, the Kumára, Sambhava Rati, the Indian Venus, the wife of Kama, the god of love, mourning the loss of her husband, says, "Rice-liquor (*alias* arrack) which caused the reddened eyes to roll, and speech to get disjointed at every step, has in thy absence become a torture to poor women." In the same poem it is described, how the ladies rushed to the window to see a procession, and evolved the odour of arrack which they had drunk.

The Purána vary in date: the oldest has been placed in the sixth century of the Christian era: the latest in the thirteenth, or even the sixteenth century; they abound in descriptions of wine and drinking, and though the object of many of them is to condemn the use of wine, the inference is clear that there was a widespread malady, which they proposed to overcome. The Bhagávata Purána enjoins the use of spirit by the Brahmans at one particular rite. In another Purána the great goddess Dúrga is represented as particularly addicted to strong drinks.

Other quotations from later authors could be made *ad libitum*, more particularly from the poetical literature, to show how frequently references are made to drinking among the

higher classes. The Tantra are books of a later date than the Purána, and are of extreme importance with reference to the life of the modern Hindu. The Saiva Tantra gives full liberty to their votaries to indulge in drinking spirits. No worship to the Devi can be complete without wine, and the worshippers sit round a jar of arrack, and drink, and drink, till they fall to the ground in utter helplessness. The most appropriate way of drinking liquor is in the mystic circle, but as this cannot be got every day, the devotee takes the bulk of his potations *after his evening prayer*.

Pulastya, an ancient sage, and author of one of the Smriti, of a remote and uncertain age, enumerates twelve different kinds of liquor beside the Soma-beer : they are (1) the jack, (2) the grape, (3) the honey, (4) the date, (5) the palm, (6) the sugar-cane, (7) the Mohwa, (8) the long-pepper, (9) the soap-berry, (10) the rum, (11) the cocoa-nut, (12) the arrack or rice. The mode of preparing all these liquors is described in one of the Tantra, and they were all taken neat, and it was necessary to eat a wine biscuit with them, to remove the smarting in the mouth caused by raw spirit. These wine biscuits had many technical names, and one of the names of the great god Siva, the third of the triad, is "Lord of wine-biscuits." No drinking party was complete without these titbits.

We learn from Arrian's Periplus of the Erythræan sea, that quantities of foreign wine were regularly imported into India two thousand years ago, and met a ready sale. The varieties mentioned are from Laodicea, Italy, and Arabia : they were more costly than the native wines, and only used by the rich. History seems to repeat itself ; and the British shipper, distiller and brewer had his prototype, and is but a servile imitator of the astute Greeks !

Medical works of the Hindu tell us of the diseases which were the sure punishment of intemperance : we find in Sanskrit the word "wine-horror," suggesting delirium tremens : wine-disease, suggesting gout : wine death, suggesting the well-known phrase "drank himself to death." The description of the diseases is given in Sanskrit words. Such names could not have come into existence, had there not been immoderate drinking in many instances to give rise to the complaint. In medical works there are a number of recipes for removing the odour of wine from the mouth. We have seen how in elder days the aroma of spirits was not concealed, but welcome, even from the mouths of ladies : a more hypocritical age tried to hunt with total abstainers and run with the drunkards : there was clearly a class of rich men who drank in secret, and wished to pass among their neighbours as total abstainers, like the women in Europe who in this generation drink liquors sent in by the



grocer's stores, and get rid of the smell with peppermint lozenges.

I feel a sort of compunction in thus exposing the venerable Veda, and the charming epics and dramas of the Hindu to scorn: they have been the delight of my life. No one who had read Horace or Juvenal, can doubt that the Romans drank more than was good for them: Homer tells us in the *Odysee*, iii. 139:—

*οἶνω βε βαρῆστες νῆοι Ἀχαιῶν,*

and he himself is said never to have prosecuted his labour as a poet till he was well drunk. We cannot doubt that the Greeks drank. The great catena of Greek authors could be quoted to show that they drank and drank to excess: they attributed to their gods the same weaknesses as their own: otherwise what occasion had Jupiter for Hebe and Ganymede as cup-bearers? When Mercury visited Calypso, she served him with drink. Minerva was the only one of the Immortals who never drank: if it be argued, that this was only the fancy of the poets, I reply, "Just so: their writings reflect the feelings of their own age, whether in India or Hellas: they do not allude to railways and telegraphs, but they do to drink, because they and their hearers knew what it was." When Peter, with the Apostles, was charged with being full of new wine, he did not repel the insinuation as a gross insult, but remarked that it was not the third hour of the day, or, as Dean Alford puts it, "he showed the improbability of intoxication at that hour of the morning:" hence a fair inference that some of the Jews at that period drank. We cannot admit that the Hindu nation were a good innocent people, who did not know how to make fermented beverages, how to distil, how to import from Europe, how to drink to intoxication like brute beasts, how to acquire frightful diseases, how to get rid of the odour of wine from their mouths, and to play the part of sanctified total abstainers, until they had been taught all these tricks by the British collector of revenue, anxious to increase the excise: and yet it is necessary to place these facts on record.

But perhaps the Pagan tribes of India, who lie outside of the Hindu and Mahometan civilisation and religion, according to the poets and popular fancy, leading rude and simple pastoral lives in secluded valleys, or on the slopes of the Himalaya, had escaped this contamination. Up to this day many of them have scarcely seen a European, or visited a city. Forty years ago Mr. Brian Hodgson thus wrote of the Bodo and Dhimal on the confines of Assam.

They use abundance of fermented liquor made of rice or millet: it is not unpleasant. Brewing, and not distilling, seems

the characteristic of all non-Aryan races, all of whom make beer, and not spirits : the process is very simple : the grain is boiled : a plant is mixed with it, and it is left to ferment : in four days the liquor is ready : the plant for fermenting is grown at home : this tribe use tobacco, but not opium or distilled liquor. I do not brand them with the name of drunkards, though they certainly love a merry cup in *honour of their gods* at the high festivals of their religion : among my own servants the Bodo have never been drunk : the Mahometan and Hindu several times, excessively so."

There was no excise, or any constraint at that time.

The Mahometans conquered India about 800 A.D. : many aliens settled in India : some Hindu were converted by force, or fraud, or for desire of gain : thousands of wild Non-Aryan tribes have accepted a veneer of Mahometanism, but are pagan still. Even the converted Hindu retain the caste-names, and the Hindu law with regard to marriage and succession. We have fortunately full accounts of the way of living of the emperors and nobles, but scant notice of the ways of the lower class. History is generally silent about them.

Here is a contemporary's peep into the life of Mahmúd of Ghazni, the first invader of India :

The Amir said to Abd-u Razzak : ' Shall we drink a little wine ? ' Accordingly much wine was brought into the garden, and fifty goblets placed in the middle of a small tent. The Amir said, ' Let us drink fair measures, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness. ' They began to get jolly. Bu-i Hasan drank five goblets : his head was affected at the sixth : he lost his senses at the seventh, and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bu-ala, the physician, drooped his head at the fifth cup, and was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten : Suja Biruz nine : and both were borne away. Bu Nain drank twelve and ran off : when he Khwaja had drunk twelve cups, he made his obeisance and said to the Amir, ' If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect to your Majesty, as well as his own wits. ' The Amir laughed, and went on drinking. He drank twenty-seven goblets : he then arose and called for a basin of water and his praying-carpet, washed his face, and recited *the midday prayers as well as the afternoon ones*, and he so acquitted himself that you would not have said that he had drunk a single cup : he then returned to the palace on an elephant. I witnessed the whole scene with my eye.—*Tharikh-i Subuktegin*, Elliot's "Historians of India," vol. ii. p 145

Sultan Muizzu d-dunya plunged at once into dissipation : his companions all joined him : the example spread, and all ranks, high and low, learned and unlearned, acquired a taste for wine drinking. Night and day the Sultan gave himself up entirely to dissipation and enjoyment. One of the nobles said : ' Suppose you kill the drunken insensate king by some villainous contrivance. '—Elliot's "Historians," vol. iii. pp. 126 129

Sultan Ala-ud-dín prohibited wine-drinking and wine selling, and also the use of beer and drugs. Jars and casks of wine were brought up from the royal cellars, and emptied into the streets in such quantities, that mud and mire was formed. The dissolute



used to make and distil wine clandestinely, and drink at a great price : they put it into leather bags and conveyed it in hay and firewood. By hundreds of devices it was brought into the city : when seized the wine was given to the elephants to drink : the sellers were flogged and sent to prison, but the numbers increased so, that holes for their incarceration were dug outside the gate : the severity of this confinement caused many to die : those who could not give up the habit, went out to the fords of the river and procured liquor ; the horror of confinement deterred others. Desperate men still drank, and even sold liquor : seeing this difficulty, the Sultan ordered, that, if the liquor was distilled in private houses, and consumed in secret, and no parties were found drunk, it might go on.

Baber, the great conqueror of India, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, was a constant and jovial toper : many a drunken party is recorded in his memoirs : even in the middle of a campaign there is no interruption of his excessive jollity. *Ex. gr.*

We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline : those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Saiyad Khan was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with difficulty. Dost Mahommed Bakur was so far gone, that they could not get him on horseback : they poured a quantity of water over him, but to no purpose. A body of the Afghans (the enemy) appeared in sight, and they threw him on a horse, and brought him off.

On some occasions they contrived to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours : they began to drink and kept up the party *until evening prayers* (they were strict Mahometans).

Babar writes himself : " I now want something less than one year of forty years, and I drink wine most copiously." In 1527 A.D., he began a course of rigorous reform, and there is something picturesque in the very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits : however his indulgence had shortened his days. He was a truly great man, in spite of all his weaknesses, and shewed his greatness in his manly struggle against his habits of intemperance : "*Hostium victor et sui.*"

I had collected the above quotations before I started on my late expedition to Morocco : on my return I find upon my table additional evidence of the gross intemperance of the Mahometans in India, collected for a totally different purpose in the columns of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of December 1887, p. 727. This is the Society to whose service I have devoted myself for many years, and by an odd chance the father of Archdeacon Farrar was of this Society an honoured Missionary, and his Maráthi hymns are still sung in the Native Churches of Western India. The statements which I quote

were made by a writer, who knew what he was about, having been many years a Chaplain in India, and they were made in reply to one of the greatest paradoxes of modern time; an attempt on the part of a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England to prove, that Mahometanism to certain races was a more suitable religion than Christianity, and that Mahometans were total abstainers.

On this supposed abolition of drunkenness, a much bewildered correspondent of the *Guardian* (October 19th) recalls the memory of Selim the Sot, the temporal and spiritual head of Islam, and that drink cut short the splendid career of Amurath IV. We read in *Mountstuart Elphinstone* (vol. ii. p. 49) that Alá-ud-din's constitution had yielded to a long course of intemperance. When he was beset with conspiracies, his counsellors traced his troubles to convivial meetings where men opened their thoughts to each other. The Emperor Baber tried to persuade a friend to leave off wine, but he admitted that drinking was a very pleasant thing with old friends and companions. Elphinstone remarks, that it would have been fortunate if Baber had left off drinking wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking party is recorded in his memoirs. Akbar's third son, Dániál, when debarred by his father's order from wine, had liquor conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and thus, having free access to indulgence, brought his life to a close in the thirtieth year of his age. Akbar himself, in his youth, indulged in wine and good living. Sir Thomas Roe tell us, that Jehangir never left off drinking till he fell asleep, scarcely one of the party remaining sober. In his drunkenness he talked with great liberality of all religions; then he fell to weeping and to various passions which kept them till midnight. It was when he was recovering from a fit of drunkenness that he was seized and deposed. Shah Shuja, the son of Shah Jehan, was given up to wine and pleasure: he was a mere drunkard. His brother, Morad, was seized when in a helpless state of intoxication, and imprisoned and murdered by Aurangzib. It would be easy to extend this bead-roll of Mahometan monarchs, who have been amongst the most conspicuous drunkards of their times.

And another writer tell us:—

So far as abstinence from strong drink is concerned, Moslems do shew how much may be accomplished by repressive measures, and we may take a lesson from them; but with regard to inebriating drugs their example is quite the other way, and of the two their vice is the worse. The tendency of intoxication through drink is to delirium tremens, which is a suicidal mania; but the tendency of inebriation through bhang is to a homicidal mania. The delirious Mohammedan "runs a muck"; armed with daggers and other life-destroying weapons, he runs through town or country stabbing, maiming, and killing every man, woman, or child whom he meets. I well remember the suffering and terror that were caused on one occasion, when four such maniacs "ran a muck" in one day, with such violence, that the authorities turned out a company of soldiers and shot them down. It was summary vengeance, but the only way of saving innocent lives. I do not



think that such cases are now as frequent in India and Ceylon as they were forty years since, and I think that the indirect influence of Christianity has caused the decrease.

Nor is it peculiar to India : the Odes of the celebrated Poet Hafiz tell us how "his spiritual guide went from the mosque to the wine-shop," and he makes an appeal to the cup-bearer to "pass on good wine, for he would not find in Paradise such charms as the world bestowed." I quote from the Missionary periodical of the Universities Mission in Central Africa :

"Islam," says Canon Taylor, "has abolished drunkenness." Has it? Night after night we took up dozens, I may say, of drunkards in the streets of Zanzibar. Many high-class natives were drunkards on the sly ; and, when a Moslem does drink, he will pawn his last rag for liquor, or, as was frequently the case with the men we apprehended, would commit robbery solely for the purpose of gratifying their love of liquor ; but enough may have been said if not to convince Canon Taylor, yet to convince others. He has not perhaps travelled in Mahometan countries. If he has not, he may never have seen drunken Mahometans, but we have. The Teedec, a most fanatical people in North Africa, are conspicuous for drunkenness.

There is a famous story in Mahometan books, how a Cazi, whose duty it was to punish drinkers, privately indulged in drink at night, and was in the early morning caught in the act by his sovereign, who was about to decapitate him when he begged that the shutters of the windows open to the East might be opened, and he be informed from which quarter of the horizon the sun was rising. When told that it was from the East, he quoted from the Koran, "so long as the sun rises from the East, so long will God have mercy on His children." He then knelt down submissive to his fate : he had learnt something from the Koran better than temperance, *viz.*, faith and submission to the divine decree. This is Islam.

In the time of the Emperor Baber, a new sect of the Hindu religion came into existence, founded by Baba Nanak, and became so influential, that their tenets are often talked of as a separate religion : it was an upheaval of the lower classes, and a war against caste. All fanatics and lawgivers must forbid something. Moses and Mahomet forbade pork : the Popes of Rome forbade a large and influential portion of the community, male and female, to marry : the Total Abstinence Society forbids liquor : Baba Nanak forbade tobacco. Smoking is a nasty habit, but it scarcely amounts to a sin. The day will come, when an Anti-Smoking Society will arise : all such prohibitions are limitations of Christian liberty, and I protest against Total Abstinence being made anything more than a very proper moral inculcation to youth. Baba Nanak forbade tobacco : the Sikhs took it out in another quarter :

*Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret :*

they became terrible consumers of opium, decoction of poppy-heads, and spirituous liquors generally. I lived many happy years in their midst. I was present at the taking of Lahore and the conquest of the country, and we found liquor shops in abundance, and decoction of poppy-heads, called *Post*, set out in brass cups for free sale like ginger beer in London, and as I was placed in charge of one of the newly-conquered districts, one of my first duties was to regulate the number of shops for sale of liquors, take the sale of opium entirely into the control of the State, and impose a heavy tax on intoxicating liquors. The Sikhs are a magnificent race in stature, living long lives, and having large families, and yet they habitually took their daily opium pill, and lay like logs on the ground until the narcotic had worked itself off.

In the History of the Panjáb, published in two volumes by Messrs. Allen in 1846, I find it noted, that the famous Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the putative father of the well-known Dulip Singh, was unreserved in all his habits, and his diet consisted of high stimulants, of which he partook sparingly. At his interview with Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, in 1838, Ranjit Singh desired that His Lordship should take part in the drinking, and drain the cup of fiery liquid to the dregs. This excess produced upon the Maharaja such a severe fit of apoplexy, that Lord Auckland took leave of him lying on his couch, scarcely able to articulate. His wine was extracted from raisins, a quantity of pearls being ground to powder and mixed with it: it was made for Ranjit Singh alone: he sometimes gave a few bottles to his Chiefs. It was as strong as brandy: the only food allowed at his drinking feasts was fat quails, stuffed with sage, and this abominable liquid fire. His sensual indulgences were the vices of his country.

His grandson, Maharaja Nou Nihál Singh, in his moral habits was an example to the corrupt Court, being sober, and comparatively temperate amidst the debauchery round him. He was killed at the age of twenty-two. Maharaja Sher Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, was a good-natured sensualist, and solaced himself with an unrestrained indulgence in every species of intemperance. He was killed and was succeeded by a supposititious child, named Dulip Singh, so well known in England: the officers of the army proceeded to the palace and remonstrated against the brother of the Maharaja's mother continuing as Chief Minister, reproaching him to his face with drunkenness. He was so drunk, that he could not hold a Durbar, and the mother of Maharaja Dulip Singh, besides her unbridled profligacy with her paramour, indulged in similar excesses, and in August 1845, her faculties became seriously impaired by these indulgences: she used to sink into a state of stupor from



which she could only be raised by the stimulus of strong drink. On one occasion a letter from the Governor-General awaited a reply, but none could be sent because the mother and uncle of the Maharaja Dulip Singh, *and the boy himself*, aged 6, were all drunk: on the following day there was no Durbar, because the Wazir, and the Members of the Council were intoxicated.

It is not pleasant to me thus to expose the weaknesses of any class of Her Majesty's subjects, whether in Westminster or Lahore; but since it has been distinctly laid down by Archdeacon Farrar at a public meeting, that the British Government found India sober, it is necessary, distinctly, and by quotations, to show that that statement is not exact. I could have added indefinitely to the number of quotations: there is scarcely a battle which we have fought in India, in which it is not recorded that the soldiers of the enemy were encouraged to the fight by copious libations of arrack. It is an unquestionable fact, that a large number of the classes, of which the Indian population is composed, habitually drink; that weddings are always accompanied by additional supplies of wine, specially got in for the purpose, as indeed was the marriage of Cana in Galilee, and a modern wedding in any part of Europe: that there is a special caste, called the Kulál, or wine-seller, and that it might as well be said, that the British introduced the use of gunpowder and calico garments, as of liquor and drugs.

I now proceed to the second part of the thesis:

"And we left India drunken."

Nature has supplied the people of India with an abundance and variety of intoxicating liquors and stupefying drugs, beyond the lot of any other nation. There is indeed a lack of grape wine, and the brewing of European beer has only been introduced for the benefit of the European community; but sugar to make rum, hemp to produce Charas and Bhang, rice to produce Arrack, the palm tree to produce Tari or toddy, the or Mohwa, *Bassia latifolia*, to produce the celebrated liquor, the poppy to produce the opium, and the poppy-decoction, called *Post* in the North of India, and *Kusumbha* in the South, the cereals ready for the preparation of gin in any form; all these deadly ingredients, and many others, grow spontaneously with the smallest amount of culture: the process of brewing or distilling is of the simplest character: the price is ridiculously low, and the wild characters of a great part of the country is all in favour of the smuggler and illicit distiller, or the still in the privacy of the secluded house. In the memory of man the British troops used to be employed in Ireland to hunt for illicit stills in the mountainous tracts, and the smuggler on the coast of Great Britain has only been got rid of by an

entire change of the financial system. The problem presented to the Government of India was one of the most complicated and difficult. But it was clearly the duty of the Government, and the Government did not shrink from the discharge of that duty, at a time when its power was not so overwhelming and undisputed as it is now.

In the *Ayín Akbari* there is a list of taxes remitted by Akbar, among them is a tax on spirituous liquors, but it appears that it was reimposed, for it appears in later fiscal statements. In the Province of Bengal in 1722, under the Nawabs, this tax existed, and we found it when we assumed the Government in 1763 A.D., but it was exceedingly light and in 1785 a bottle of spirituous liquor could be purchased for one pice, about a half-penny, sufficient in amount to make a man drunk. Complaints were then rife of the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes, and just one century ago, 1789, the matter was taken up by Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, and President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of the most high-minded, pious, and benevolent of men, and the ablest of Indian statesmen. Lord Cornwallis was then Governor-General, and in 1790, by his orders a notification was issued, that no person should hereafter make or vend spirituous liquors, except on the part of Government, and the collectors of land revenue were charged with the duty of carrying out details. The grounds which led to this decision were *moral*, and one of the conditions of each licence was, that the holder should prevent drunkenness, and not receive any goods in barter for liquor, and close his shop at 9 P. M. Regulations were enacted in 1793 and 1800, and in the preamble it is stated, that one of the reasons for passing the rules was the *inordinate use of liquors and drugs*, which had become prevalent owing to the very inconsiderable price at which they were sold previous to 1790 A.D. In 1802 the great Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, circulated interrogatories regarding the operation of the system, and inquired whether the tax had rendered the vice of drunkenness more prevalent. The Court of Appeal at Morshebabad replied in the negative, adding, however, *that it had not decreased*, but that it was not general, and the labouring poor never touched liquor : other authorities replied in different strains, that the regulations had been beneficial, and suggested still more stringent repressive measures.

Dr. Buchanan published a remarkable book,—the account of his survey of certain districts in 1807 and 1814. He remarks that the use of liquor was very common, but that actual drunkenness was less prevalent : he mentions that in one district the Mahometans were in the habit of drinking : he mentions that women used spirituous liquor, and that on the frontier of the



Company's territory liquor was smuggled in from the Native States free from duty, and therefore sold cheaper. It will be gathered from the above, that the habit was anterior to, independent of, and in defiance of the regulations of the early British administrators, and it must be remembered, that since 1790 the population has doubled, the area of cultivation has been enormously extended, roads opened out, new products introduced, and the great Pax Britannica has made Bengal one of the most thickly populous, wealthy, and flourishing countries in the world. The great provinces of the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb naturally followed the Bengal system: the minor provinces of Assam, the Central Provinces and Burma followed in the same track, while Madras and Bombay developed their system in their own way, but on the same lines, following the same principles, having the same object in view,—not the enhancement of the revenue of the State by pandering to the base passions of the people, but by a steady system of repression and control, and an enhancement of the duty up to that point which would make smuggling with all its risks profitable.

I must here make a remark, that Archdeacon Farrar and the other speakers have forgotten one element in the discussion, an element, however, of the greatest importance; that is, the existence of the Covenanted Civil Service, with entire control over every part of the administrative machine in every part of British India, from the highest to the lowest. Every five years a statesman of the highest mark has been sent out as Governor-General, and since 1858 as Viceroy, and two eminent men are sent out as Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Military men as Commanders-in-Chief, and a lawyer for the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; but with these exceptions every post is held by a member of the Covenanted Civil Service, supplemented in some parts of the country by Military men, who for the time being become Civilians: the real power, and the entire knowledge of revenue subjects rests with them: and the Councillors, who sit by the side of the Viceroy, have risen up step by step in every grade of the Service, and known every detail: there is no room for half-knowledge with them; if there is a blot in the working of the Excise system, they know it: if the measures of Government lead to increased consumption of liquor either by express design, or by the unfortunate nature of the case, they know it. Now, one feature of this great Covenanted Service is its independence of character, sense of responsibility, and outspokenness: there have been civilians, who in times past have refused to obey the orders of Government to pay the Brahmans to pray for rain during a drought, have refused to administer the affairs of a heathen

temple, have asserted their right to attend the baptisms of native converts, and justified it in such a way, when called upon for explanation, that the Viceroy has admitted the right. By the practice of the Indian Administration a remonstrance against an order is permitted, and it is notorious, how difficult some men have proved themselves to be, till at last it has come to the alternative of obeying or resigning: but I do assert, that, if the Viceroy or Council had ordered, as suggested by Mr. Samuel Smith, that to make up a deficiency in the Budget, encouragement should be given to the sale of liquors and drugs, *he could not have been obeyed: such an order never has been and never could be issued.* I have myself filled the post of Collector of a District, Commissioner of a Division, and Provincial Head of the Revenue Department, both in the North-West Province, and the Panjáb, and I unhesitatingly say that, had such an order reached me, I should have had the courage of my convictions, and *not have conveyed it to my subordinates*, but should have recorded such a protest as would have compelled its rescission. I learnt my earliest lesson from James Thomason, the pupil of Simeon, and matured my knowledge under John Lawrence, and I served under men of the type of Robert Montgomery and Donald Macleod. Does Mr. Samuel Smith when he makes such assertions, consider what kind of men have controlled the affairs of India since the beginning of this century, from the time of Lord Teignmouth the President of the Bible Society, down to Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere?

Nor has the management of the Excise been one unchangeable system, which no one dared to touch, like a Perpetual Settlement of the Land Revenue, or the Capitulations, by which the independence of Turkey is crippled. On the contrary, Governor after Governor has had his eye upon it, and the practice has varied from time to time, and province to province, between the central state-distillery at the head quarters, and a lease of a certain area to a responsible person, who could only open out stills at spots approved by the Collector. The first system has the obvious disadvantage, that it casts an odium upon the Collector, as being *de facto* the head distiller of his district. Many weak, and imperfectly informed critics in England, see in the opium monopoly an aggravation of the offence, in that the State becomes *de facto* the manufacturer of the drug. There is the obvious advantage, that by both the central liquor distillery and the opium monopoly, the State officials have efficient means of repression, and can control the working of the machine. The second system has the obvious disadvantage of imperfect control, and therefore loss of excise, and promotion of undue and illicit sale. In 1859 the Government of India, in its imperial capacity, pointed out that on *moral, as well*



as *fiscal* grounds, the establishment of central state-distilleries was advisable. In 1883 a Commission was appointed for the Province of Bengal under the sanction of the Government of India to consider the whole subject: on the order constituting the Commission occur the following expressions: "it is impossible for Government to allow this increase of drinking to continue, without making every effort to ascertain those causes, and if possible, remove them. No considerations of Revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it may be possible to do so." These words were penned by a Governor who knew what he was about, at a date antecedent to Canon Ellison's pamphlet of 1886, and Archdeacon Farrar's famous thesis of 1887. The result was a Report dated April 1884, in which the system adopted in the whole of British India is reviewed, and certain recommendations are made for Bengal. The Report was published at Calcutta in 1884 in two large folio volumes and I recommend it as profitable reading to those, who desire to be something more than platform orators, and wish to take a serious and solemn study of the difficulty of administering the affairs of a great subject nation, uniting the maximum of wise and gentle control, with the minimum of vexatious interferences with their family customs, their weddings, and their gatherings, their feasting, and their weaknesses. Let us try the high moral problem of Total Abstinence by Act of Parliament, or Local Option, first in the borough of Westminster under the shadow of the Abbey, before we introduce it in Bengal: let us teach the Christian to be sober, and then press the subject on the Hindu and Mahometan. We at least in our religion have the highest motives, and the power of the Holy Spirit to help us in our endeavours: the Non-Christian world has nothing but the prospect of earthly advantage, and the unaided energy of poor humanity.

I now come to the Despatch of the Government of British India, signed August 4, 1887, presented to Parliament, August 9 1887, and printed: it is signed by the Earl of Dufferin, the Viceroy, Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief, and five members of Council, one of whom is an English barrister: it contains reports from the eight provinces into which British India is divided: it is a document of the greatest importance, and based on the latest information, being up to date. If we do not place faith in this, it is as much as to say "All Anglo-Indians are liars": on this matter I have spoken to one Viceroy, several ex-Governors, and ex-Councillors, and a large body of Anglo-Indians who have retired, and there is but one opinion on the subject. Some of the most earnest members of the

Temperance Society admit in 1887 the sufficiency of this reply to the pamphlet issued by the Temperance Society in 1886.

Lord Dufferin summarizes the allegations of that pamphlet as follows :—

A. The Excise Revenue of India is due to a system, which directly leads to the establishment of liquor-shops, where, till recently, such things were unknown.

B. The fiscal system of India, by affording facilities for drinking *in defiance of native opinion*, is unhappily spreading misery and ruin among many families of the industrial class.

C. The use of intoxicating drinks, which they believe to have been practically unknown in the greater part of India, was introduced under British Rule.

The reply is :—

A. The principle laid down and accepted by all is, that liquor should be taxed, and consumption restricted as far as it is possible to do so, without imposing positive hardship on the people, and driving them to illicit manufactures.

B. The measures taken have been completely successful : the great increase of the excise in recent years really represents much less liquor sold, and an infinitely better regulated consumption than the smaller revenue of former years.

C. It is an error to suppose, that the population of India were universally abstemious, and if left alone, knew nothing of intoxicating liquor, and have been introduced to it by the British Government. Both the Hindu and Mahometan religions indeed denounce the use of spirits, but the classes whose habits of life are framed with a strict regard to religion and social restrictions, form in India no larger portion of the population than in other countries.

D. Nature produces in great abundance the material for distillation of spirit, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing, that in the days of Native administration the Indian population refrained from indulgence in a practice, which it requires the constant watchfulness of the British administration to restrain.

E. The Reports from the Central Provinces and Assam show that it is those tribes and races, which are least accessible to the influence of British rule, which are most addicted to intoxicating liquors and drugs.

F. Our excise system breaks down on the frontiers of Native States, which are often exceedingly irregular, the villages being intermixed, and not separated by a river or chain of mountains : in those States there is no restriction on the manufacture and sale, and the great difficulty is to exclude untaxed or lightly taxed liquor. In the Bombay Province the excise rights of Native States have been bought up in



some cases, in order that, by imposing on the population of Native States the same restriction, they may maintain, or rather not violate and render nugatory, our restrictive system.

G. The great increase in the revenue, which is unquestionable, does not mark the extension of drinking habits, but is the result of a great and general increase of the rate of tax, which it would have been entirely impossible to realise but for the great improvement in the preventive measures. The ability of the Excise Department to prevent illicit distillation is the only limit which is imposed in practice to increase in the rate of taxation.

H. The object of the Excise Department is to tax every gallon of spirits, first by a fixed still-head duty, which is regulated at the discretion of the Government, and secondly by a licence fee for retail sale, which is usually determined by competition for the privilege of sale. The system of out-stills is obsolete, except in scantily inhabited tracts and the borders of Native States, where the Collector has no alternative betwixt letting liquor be distilled untaxed, or make this kind of arrangement.

I doubt whether many persons in England know what an out-still is. I can only lay before them an analogy from Great Britain. Supposing that the State were to undertake the manufacture of beer and spirits in great central places, and to license public houses for the sale of the State monopoly liquors, there would be still wild corners in England, Ireland and Scotland, where the facility of smuggling would be such, that the only possible check would be the establishment of private distilleries under all possible safeguards in such places. It would be a measure of control and restriction, not of expansion. Moreover, the out-still in India (as in the above analogy in Great Britain the private distillery) is not allowed to manufacture as much liquor as its owner likes, and to sell it wherever he likes. The duty is levied upon a strict calculation of the number of gallons which the still can produce, and the conditions both of distillation and sale are carefully regulated with reference to the *existing* (not the prospective or possible) demand. Shops are established in the localities chosen by the Collector, and not at the discretion of the distiller, and the Police and the Municipal authorities are consulted on the subject. I am in the habit of assisting annually in the grant of licences in Westminster and Kensington to publicans, and I doubt, whether so much power of control, and restraint of undue opportunities for sale of liquor exists in London as in Lahore and Allahabad.

The average consumption in India is only one bottle, or one bottle and a half of spirits a year for each adult male,

and in some provinces less than that ; it is clear that the terms "drunkenness," "drinking classes," and "spread of drinking" bear a meaning wholly different in India and England. Could we but reduce the consumption of London to that standard, how glad would be the hearts of the Temperance Societies !

The vast increase of the population of British India is one of the great administrative problems of the age. The sword, the famine, and the pestilence have been the usual depletors of oriental countries : the first has ceased absolutely : the last two are guarded against in every way that science and benevolence can suggest, and can it enter into the minds of good men to suppose, that a Government which spends millions to stay a famine, the results of operations beyond its control, would insidiously and deliberately, for a smaller amount of revenue, poison the bodies and souls of its subjects. Archdeacon Farrar may some day have grandchildren in the Civil Service of the Empress of India ; can he contemplate calmly, that they would be enrolled in a body of men, who in his opinion are so infamous as Mr. Samuel Smith describes them ? I quote his very words :

*The wants of the Exchequer in that country are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible to go on licensing more drink shops. Native opinion is utterly opposed to it. The leading castes of the Hindu and all the Mahometans are by custom and religion total abstainers, but many of them have been corrupted by our influence and example, and not a few of the princes and leading natives of India have drunk themselves to death.*

Another class of imperfectly informed critics run wild on the idea that the famines of India are caused by the large area given over to the production of drugs and liquor and on which cereals could be grown : are they aware that owing to the enormous additional area of cultivation during the great Pax Britannica, the price of cereals has fallen to such an extent, that wheat can be exported from Central or Northern India with profit to Great Britain to compete with the cereals of the Black Sea and America ?

The problem is a much more difficult one than unimperfectly informed critics at home think : if it is supposed, that a mere order of an alien Government to a vast native population can change their moral habits, it is a mere dream. We can put down the burning of widows, or the burying alive of lepers, because such isolated facts become notorious ; but we wage an unequal war against the practice of daughter-killing, as the Police cannot prepare lists of pregnant women, and assist at every birth in the recesses of the native house. We could not suppress the use of private stills, when nature



has been so prolific in her gifts of inebriating materials : the only way is to regulate the manufacture, tax the produce, and license the distributors, and I do conscientiously maintain, that for the last century the intelligence of three generations of honest and upright men has been taxed to effect this. The Native army is proverbially sober. I wish that I could say the same of the British soldier ; and yet one of Mr. Caine's most bitter sarcasms is, that the " Indian Government will not allow liquor to be sold to European soldiers, but it may be sold to a child thirteen years of age." Does Mr. Caine reflect, that it costs many hundred pounds to deliver each of our brave soldiers at their cantonments in the Panjáb, that it has cost many thousand pounds to house him, and keep him comfortable, well, happy, and ready : and yet Tommy Atkins is more thoughtless of his own life and his own precious soul than any Native child aged thirteen, who probably at that age, if a female, would be a wife and a mother, and care very little for strong drink, or have any chance of getting it. On the borders of our large cantonments hover scoundrels with jars of illicit drink and immodest women, to tempt the soldier to disobey the orders of his Captain, and the Great Captain of his Salvation : and is the Government to be sneered at, because it provides for its brave but thoughtless soldiers a protection, which is not needed for the gamin of the streets, who has neither a pice in his pocket, nor a pocket to put it in, if he had it ? It is lamentable to hear such statements cheered by a fanatical audience. Do they wish our soldiers to be exposed to temptations from which we can protect them partially ? Can Mr. Caine's fertile imagination suggest any Police organization, by which a juvenile population exceeding thirty million can be protected from a danger to which they are not exposed ? For among all the exaggerated statements it is not alleged that children of tender years have taken to drunkenness. Dulip Singh was indeed drunk at six years old, but he was an independent Sovereign. Nor do we read in the Police returns of India of any number of men and women brought up for being drunk in the streets as in London ? Are the Lunatic Asylums crowded with the insane, of whom twenty per cent. brought on their malady by drink, as in Middlesex ? Are the Indian Bankruptcy Courts, or the Indian Registrars' Annals stained with the words, so frequent in Great Britain, " Drunk himself, or herself, to death." But that the subject is so awfully serious, it would seem to be an indecorous pleasantry on the part of the Prince's Hall orators, to put forward charges so ridiculous and so unfounded, and thus draw a false scent across the path of the earnest Missionary Societies, who were planning to protect Africa from

European liquors. From the day of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith's ill-omened speeches, that Committee, in which British, German, and American Missionaries were united in a truthful and holy work, has been suspended, as it was impossible to carry on operations with those, who neither weighed their words, nor tested their facts.

I now proceed to quote from the Reports of each of the eight Provinces of British India. Bombay is first on the list :—

In consequence of the relaxation of religious and caste rule, it is probable that intoxicating liquor is now often used in secret by classes who formerly abstained. Habitual drunkenness in the English sense of the word is rare.

A strike took place in the Districts of Thana and Kolaba. It was quoted in the House of Commons as a movement among the population in favour of total abstinence from strong drink. As a matter of fact, it was a strike of the drinking classes, made with the sole object of inducing the Government to reduce the tax on the Tari Palm, and thus make liquor cheaper. The strikers were not able to *maintain their resolutions of abstinence*.

As far back as 1838, the Government of Bombay issued the following order :—

It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Collectors, that the object, which the Government has in view, is to restrict and, if possible, correct and diminish the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of Revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end will be repaid a hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feeling and industrious habits among the people.

In 1843, we find the following Resolution of the Government of Bombay :

The Governor in Council entirely concurs in the views expressed by the Collector on the subject of the Revenue derived from the sale of spirituous liquors. Were it possible altogether to abolish the use of spirits, the loss to the Revenue would be a matter of trifling consideration, but this is obviously impossible, and the object of Government must be, by enhancing the price and imposing salutary restrictions on the sale, to check the evil as far as is in its power, while at the same time it draws a Revenue from the use of a luxury which it cannot prohibit. The regulation of this branch cannot be effected but by the agency of farmers, and the farmers should be carefully selected, not from those who may bid the highest, and thus be induced to resort to every possible means of increasing the consumption, but from those who, though they may offer less for the farms, bear good characters and will content themselves with a fair profit without adopting undue methods of attracting customers to their shops. New shops should not be established without express permission, and then only in places where clandestine sale may be carried on, which open and authorized sale will tend to check. The Collector should bear these remarks in mind in all his arrangements relative to the Excise.

In 1884, the Government of Bombay recorded the following resolution :—

Government would willingly relinquish all Revenue from this source, could it thereby abate the increasing vice of drunkenness : this, however, being impracticable, the next object of Government is to check it by enhancing the price of intoxicating liquors.



In the Report of the Customs Administration of 1884-85 we come face to face with the real "bête noire," the import of potable spirits by sea through the agency of European and American merchants. Under the principles of Free Trade such wares cannot be excluded: the total import amounted at this one port to 210 119 proof gallons; 53 per cent. of Brandy, 32 per cent. of whisky, 6 per cent. of Old Tom, and 9 per cent. of Rum: the Brandy was both in wood and bottles. No licensee of native liquor is allowed to sell foreign liquor, and *vice versa*. The licensee of foreign liquors, finding that the superior and expensive spirit was too expensive for the natives of the lower classes who frequent their shops, had to seek for a foreign liquor, which might prove as attractive, while cheaper than spirit. They tried spirits of wine, which though of country manufacture, was allowed to be sold with foreign liquors, the duty being the same: it was found that its strength could not be reduced sufficiently to lower its price to the extent necessary, and at the same time satisfy the consumer. Rum was therefore tried and has been found to suit the tastes and pockets of the consumer. The whole is imported from Mauritius, a British colony, but the strength is reduced. Here is indeed a frightful evil, which has lately come into existence; but it is difficult to blame the Government of India: the sin lies at the door of the British merchant and manufacturer, and it is a grievous sin.

Let us see what the Government of Madras says:—

The sale of intoxicating liquors is just as much a trade as that of any other kind of commodity, but there is this great difference, that while the sale of a necessary of life, like bread, need not be interfered with or regulated in any way, the sale of intoxicating liquors, if left to the unfettered operation of free trade, involves an enormous amount of drunkenness and crime, and therefore calls for regulation at the hands of any Government with any pretence to civilization. The policy which the Government has announced, of endeavouring to realise the *maximum* Revenue from a *minimum* consumption, though perhaps involving, in its strict interpretation, a verbal contradiction in terms, yet expresses with sufficient force and clearness what we consider the right course to pursue. It is, however, to be observed that while all taxation becomes Revenue, as soon as it reaches the public exchequer, yet it should always be borne in mind in connection with the taxation derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, that it is imposed primarily in order to restrain the consumption of such liquors, and not for the purpose of making money out of their sale, and that the fact of the Revenue so derived being large, is merely an incident arising from two causes: (1) The determination of the Government to do all that lies in its power to repress a baneful trade in what is not a necessary of life; (2) The general prosperity of the people, which enables them to spend on the indulgence of a vicious propensity, money which might be better expended or invested. It follows that every right-feeling Government will do all that it can to increase the taxation up to that point, when the people rather than pay for the high price liquor, which alone can be had in licensed shops, will take to illicit smuggling and distillation.

Such to the best of my belief have ever been the principles

of the Government of India. Such they were when I learned my first lesson forty years ago, and it is so still.

The great Province of Bengal with its sixty-six million inhabitants, twenty of whom are Mahometan, comes next. A Commission had been appointed to go into the subject in 1883, and on the 10th of March the orders of Government were issued.

A. The introduction, whenever opportunities of supervision existed, of the Central Distillery and Still-head Duty. B. The regulation in other places of the out-stills, so that the minimum license price should be the amount of duty calculated upon the capacity of production. C. Reduction in the number of shops, and certain restrictions on sales. In the year 1885-86 the net revenue from liquor and drugs of all kinds amounted to £927,000,—less than a million. In the same year Great Britain levied from a population of Christians of less than half the amount a very much larger sum.

The printed Report of this Commission gives us some side lights on this state of affairs. In 1874 the Government was petitioned on the subject of the increase of drinking, more particularly of the upper class, by Christians and Hindus, and Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the celebrated leader of the Brahmoists. The minute which was recorded by a Member of the Board of Revenue upon that petition, contains much that is worthy of remark:—

He agrees with the petitioners, that drinking has increased, especially in towns and among the higher class, but he disputes the assertion, that the action of Government can arrest it, he denies that Government has ever wilfully preferred considerations of Revenue to the welfare of the people, but admits administrative failure, and mistaken zeal of native officials. There is no manner of doubt, that intemperance among the higher classes radiates from Calcutta, as from a central focus, the habit is most prevalent in districts nearest to the Metropolis, and the opinion is prevalent *that intemperance naturally follows an English education*. The restraint of Caste Rules, and dictates of the Hindu and Mahometan Religious books, lose their hold on the conscience of those who come under Education, and the sad result must be debited to the School Master rather than the Excise Officer. A medical man records his opinion, that the demoralizing habit of private drinking is indulged by nearly nine-tenths of the Bengali students. A vendor of brandy remarked that native gentlemen, who can speak English, acquire a taste for brandy with the language. The quantity of intoxicating liquor drunk on holidays is incredible. Patients describe to their Doctor their powers of drinking. A Mahometan member of the writer caste stated that he had finished a bottle of brandy, and three bottles of beer, at an evening sitting. A Hindu member of the writer caste stated that he had swallowed a bottle of brandy almost at a draught.

It is distinctly recorded, that the upper classes do not resort to the shops licensed by the Excise, nor do they consume Native spirit: but they drink in the privacy of their homes liquor imported from Europe: against this evil the Government is impotent: the duty cannot be raised high enough on imported spirits so as to be prohibitory without raising an outcry on the part of the European residents all over British India, who, with very rare exceptions, are exceedingly temperate as a class, and yet would not submit to be debarred



from the use of liquor to which they are accustomed. It is added that the Native spirit of Bengal is a weak spirit: drunkenness is exceptional: and there is no necessary connexion betwixt drunkenness and crime. Dacoits, or hereditary robbers, usually drink, but moderately, and in the course of worship to their patron Deity; the most celebrated Dacoit, whom the Head of the Police ever knew, was a total abstainer: on the other hand, common burglars, and petty thieves, were in a constant state of half-stupefaction from drugs. It is mere foolishness to expect that a certain proportion of the population will not contrive to use stimulants, or that the Excise Revenue will not increase. As the upper classes adopt more and more European habits, we must expect to see them take the bad with the good, and probably more of the bad than the good: all that the Government can do is to supply the demand, *but not create it*, and to act on an honest recognition of the truth, that the Excise Revenue is a very small matter in comparison with the comfort and well-being of the people.

I treat the two great provinces of the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb together. A friend drew my attention to a passage in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated March 30th, 1887, with a view of consoling my spirit and stopping my mouth:—

It is not an indispensable part of our Imperial System. Proof is afforded by the fact, that the corrupt system of Excise has not been adopted in the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb, and the temptation to increase the Revenue has not yet constrained the Local Government to sacrifice the morality of the people to the interests of the Exchequer.

These were my two provinces, in which I commenced and finished my service, having been chief Revenue Officer in both, and I maintain that the quotations made from the Records of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, of which provinces I know personally nothing, represent exactly the great principles upon which we have always acted in the two Northern provinces of India, which teem with sugar and hemp, and in one of which the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* drops its insidious leaves into the very courtyards of the houses: there less of rice and palm trees, and a very slight growth of poppy, but cereals to any amount.

A Mr. J. Gregson, a Temperance Missionary, whose statements with regard to events in Kolaba, in the Bombay Province, have been already shewn not to be entirely "exact" (to state the case mildly), tells a startling fact with regard to the Panjáb, "that there was one Raja in the Panjáb, who built and endowed Churches and Mission buildings, *and died of delirium tremens*:" "the man," he adds, "was but an exaggerated type of what a Christianized Indian threatens to become." This is a frightful statement, and involves the character of Missionary Societies, as well as the Raja. I have had personal acquaintance with all the Rajas of the Panjáb, and their fathers and grandfathers, but the statement seems incredible. As copies of this paper will go out to India and the Panjáb, the name of this Church building and intoxicated Raja will transpire. In justice to the two provinces, the population of which is very dear to me, as I have visited

every district of this vast region, and lived for many years in personal contact with people of every class from the Raja down to the village watchman, I am glad to record the following facts. The population of the North-West Provinces exceeds twenty-two millions both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption averages *one pint for every adult male*. The population of the Panjáb amounts to nearly nineteen millions, both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption gives only a *quarter of a pint for every adult male*.

O Noctes cœnæque Deum !

This is a most beggarly allowance for races who supply nearly all our Sepâhis, and are as tall and strong as Englishmen: and no allowance is made for the possible, though improbable, consumption of liquors by one single woman, or those lads of thirteen years old, round whose tendencies Mr. Caine rails at the Government for having placed no protection, and it is within this vast region, that the bulk of the British army is cantoned, and their quota of drink must be allowed for in the average. Fortunately for these happy races the European trader with his liquid poison of Whisky, Rum, Brandy and Old Tom, has not as yet got a firm footing, but the march of civilization and English education will surely bring this evil, and corrupt the moderate habits of my dear Panjáb friends, who are content with an annual quarter of a pint of Native liquor. Oh! that I were back in their midst to tell them how that Henry and John Lawrence and Montgomery, Macleod, Herbert Edwardes and myself, were charged in England with having introduced (for we were the very first Europeans whom they saw), among them such vicious and intemperate habits—habits not alluded to in the Veda, the Ramayâna, and the Mahabhârata, and all their ancient books: habits never practised by Ranjit Singh and his courtiers, and the great Chiefs of the Khalsa: how the honest old citizens and grey beards would laugh to think that their old friends had led them so far down the abyss of intemperance and misery, as to drink an annual quarter of a pint of their nasty decoction of hemp, sugar, or poppy-juice, while at that period, old clergymen of the Church of England drank daily three glasses of port. Moreover, the Panjáb is a province thoroughly in hand, with every acre of land surveyed, and every man, woman and child counted in the Census, and has the inestimable advantage of being one thousand miles from the nearest seaport. But a Missionary of the Panjáb informs me that in Lahore, and some large towns, liquor-shops for European liquors have largely increased: so the deadly poison is spreading.



In addition to the five great provinces of British India, with their teeming populations and independent Constitutions, there are three smaller provinces, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Burma: they have been less influenced by British civilization: the population is chiefly Non-Arian, backward in culture, difficult of access. In Burma we find ourselves in entirely different environments: the people are Buddhists: in some of the remote valleys the practice of opium-smoking, so entirely unknown in India, prevails. Lower Burma has been under British control for many years: the kingdom of Burma is a new annexation: the whole state of affairs is abnormal, and there was clearly a few years ago a great neglect of the established principles of the Indian Government in the excise arrangements. There are no roads, and the means of communication are difficult: the population is sparse, and heavy jungles facilitate illicit stills. In the seaports, on the other hand, European strong drinks are easily to be obtained. On the whole, this province will be for years to come an anxious charge. In the Administration Report for 1885-86, it is noted that the excise revenue is declining; that there are only seventeen shops in the whole of the province for the sale of opium; and that increased smuggling was the result.

In the Central Provinces the Chief Commissioner reports, that he has always been careful not to countenance any measures calculated to create or foster a taste for spirits. I quote the following:—

As to the habits of the people in the matter of drinking, it is of course true that, in accordance with their religious sentiments, Hindus of certain of the higher castes and Mahometans do, as a body, abjure drink, but in these provinces these classes form but a small portion of the total population. We have here, in a country, much of which is wild and hilly and covered with long stretches of forest, a large aboriginal population, and in certain parts of the province, large numbers of persons of the lowest castes, who with their forefathers have always been accustomed to the use of liquor made from the flower of the Mohwa tree. This tree occurs abundantly all over the Central Provinces, and the process by which spirit is distilled from the Mohwa flower in the wilder parts of the country, is of the simplest character; a couple of earthen pots and a piece of hollow bambu to form a tube constituting the distiller's apparatus. There is not a district in some portion of which spirit cannot, under these circumstances, be distilled illicitly without much fear of detection, and experience has proved most convincingly, that unless the inherited taste of these people for this stimulant is satisfied by the establishment within their reach of shops, where they can buy taxed spirit, they will resort to illicit distillation, and render themselves liable to the penalties of the Revenue law. It would be useless, even if it were expedient, to attempt to suppress consumption by refusing to license shops. Smuggling and its demoralising effects, prosecutions and criminal penalties would, under the conditions of these provinces, be the inevitable result. The wisest policy is to adopt such measures as will operate as a check on excessive drinking, and this is the policy which is followed here. It may be added that in the malarious tracts which abound in the Central Provinces, it is quite possible, that the moderate consumption of a weak spirit, such as that ordinarily consumed in these provinces, has its beneficial effects in protecting the people from

chills and fevers. But however that may be, there is the fact that the use of liquor in this part of the country has no connection with the advent of British rule, and that steps were first taken, upwards of 20 years ago, to restrict its consumption.

In Assam we read of the state of affairs as it was when the British occupied Assam, when almost every cultivator of land grew a patch of poppy in the cold weather, and as the use of the drug is acquired in its most fascinating form by smoking, the householder, as well as his women and children were confirmed opium consumers, as the drug was collected by wiping off the juice of the poppy-heads on rags, which, on being dried, were quite prepared for smoking.

The cultivation of the poppy was forbidden, and the only opium introduced into the valley came from the State monopoly, and was sold to men only at an enhanced price. In the meantime the people increased in number, and all the elements of comfort, and other forms of intoxicating liquors have come into fashion, quite independent of any European or British contact or influence. The following remarks of a District Officer of an independent tribe are worthy of notice :—

As regards the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the remarks hardly apply, as outside of Shillong, Excise rules cannot properly be said to apply. On the broad question, my opinion is, that were there no Excise system in India, drunkenness would vastly increase with the increase of prosperity which this country enjoys. The Jaintia are, perhaps, the most drunken race in the province, if not in India, and they pay no Excise taxes. Several times respectable Jaintia have implored me and my predecessors to introduce the Excise system with the express view of lessening intemperance, but for various reasons this measure has not yet been adopted. Of course it would be idle to deny that the establishment of a shop at a place where one was not in existence before, tends to increase the drunkenness of that particular locality. But this, to my mind, only shows that the desire to drink is omnipresent, and that, if the demand now creates a supply in spite of the heavy taxes raised as Excise duty, and in spite of all the vexatious rules and checks regulating the traffic, in the absence of these taxes, rules and checks, for every one shop now in existence, there would be a score, if the Excise Department were abolished ; unless, indeed, the manufacture of liquor was altogether prohibited throughout India. I should imagine that this is a measure which not even the Temperance Society would advocate ; but if they would do so, I would oppose it on the grounds that it would be an intolerable interference with the liberty of the subject ; that India cannot afford to lose any revenue at all just now ; that the Excise tax is the least burdensome of all taxes, since no one need drink unless he likes ; that all civilised nations drink, and apparently in exact proportion to the extent of their civilization and general progress (England taking the lead).

In the Administration Reports presented to Parliament annually by a succession of Governors, who have no connection with their predecessors but are often in antagonism to them, we find a faithful picture of the progress of each province, such as no nation in the world, past or present, has ever received from its subject Empires. If Cicero during his Proconsulate in Bithynia, or Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, had sent to Rome such Reports, and they had survived to our times, many



obscure points would be cleared up. These Reports must be true, because they are exposed to the lynx eyes of readers who know the circumstances as well as the reporter. In the Reports of the Excise, we find how the amount fluctuates, because the particular year was not auspicious to Hindu marriages, and there were fewer marriages and less feasting. The presence of large gangs of labourers collected for great public works is a cause for the increase of the Excise quite intelligible. In Burma we read, that rum imported from Penang is driving out the locally distilled liquor. In Bengal it is noticed that foreign rums and cheap brandy are superseding rum of local manufacture. The consumption of opium seems to be decreasing everywhere: but the income of British India from the Excise is steadily increasing, and it is considered to be indicative of growing prosperity among the people.

I did not take up the pen to justify or even palliate the use of intoxicating liquors and stupefying drugs: on one occasion, years ago, during a discussion in a Missionary Committee on the subject of the opium question, I expressed my regret, that our Heavenly Father had in His wisdom created the poppy to be the cause of ruin to millions, and a root of bitterness among good men. I can only add my regret that the same All-wise Power had created sugar and hemp, and rice, and grain, and the palm tree, and the Mohwa tree, and allowed these poor ignorant races, from whom so much knowledge had been shut out, to discover, as the first of nature's discovered secrets, the mysterious trick of fermentation. In the cause of truth I protest against the view taken of the subject by the orators of Prince's Hall. I quote some words of Archdeacon Farrar:—

Hindu and Mahometans have listened to the voices of their Prophets, as the Rechabites, and been blessed thereby.

We have made money out of the misery of the Indian people, and grown rich out of their degradation.

If we were to give local self-government for twelve months to the ten millions of the North-West Provinces (the population amounts to twenty-two), we are assured (by whom?) that at the end of that period drunkenness would have disappeared, because Mahometans would be ashamed to defile their fingers with Rupees for the sale of "Shame-water," as it is called (by whom?), and that the Hindu would boycott with indignation any publican, who bore a licence to demoralize his fellow-subjects.

Instead of wells, we have plenty of grog-shops.

We derive from that source a perfect river of gold, flowing into our exchequer, but the river flows from the fountain of "Shame-water."

We can make nations drunken by Act of Parliament, and make them sober by Act of Parliament: why not try it in India? (or England).

Some of these points require special reply. What is "Shame-water"? It looks as if an imperfectly instructed linguist had confused the word "sharáb," which means "wine," and lives on the English word "sharbet," with the word

"sharam," which means "shame." I have heard liquors called by many bad names in Hindustani, and respectable people (perhaps secret drinkers) would make wry faces and signs of disgust, if the word "sharáb" were used in their hearing; but I never heard the word "Shame-water" in general native parlance. It implies a knowledge of English as well as Hindustani which is rare among natives of Upper India. And does the Archdeacon really recommend such a breach of the peace as is implied in "boycotting"? Does he dare boycott a public house in Westminster? Why then propose to a Hindu to do an act in Upper India, which would most certainly lodge him in the gaol? Are the weak municipalities of India able to dispose of the liquor question in such a trenchant way, while the ancient municipalities of Great Britain have failed? It is difficult to get any meaning out of the blessing, which the Hindu and Mahometan are said to have got from their false Prophets. What blessing can come from the hideous idolatry of the Hindu, or the Christ-dishonouring tenets of Mahomet? How have we become rich out of the degradation of the people of India? Not a rupee of tribute comes to Great Britain from India. The balance of advantage of the union of the empires is enormously on the side of India, which has obtained everything from Great Britain except political and commercial liberty. Reflect upon the treatment which the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders and North American indigenous population, despoiled of their lands and turned into serfs and corrupted with liquor, have received at the hands of the British settler, and contrast it with that of the people of India, where Raja and citizen, landholder and tenant, enjoy their ancestral land and houses, as they were at the beginning of the rule of the Company, transmitting them to their children, whether Hindu or Mahometan, according to their own law of marriage and inheritance, and where in the Courts of Justice there is no distinction of white, or black, Christian or non-Christian.

A certain English Missionary addressed a letter to Mr. Samuel Smith which has been published. Now I am well acquainted with all the Missionary Societies of India, and I should like to know the name of this gentleman:—

It is he who tells us that "the Board of Revenue encourage the drink trade, put facilities before the people in order to push on the trade and get in a large revenue: that there was a grand triumph for the Excise, but it was at the cost of fearful misery and demoralization of the people of India: that no less than half a dozen of Rajahs have died at a comparatively young age within the last few years from indulgence freely in kegs (sic) of champagne (not soda) and brandy." He then tells us "that Europeans may reform and give up drink, but a Native goes on to the end: he seldom or never can give it up."

I call on Mr. Samuel Smith to let us know the name of



this Missionary, that he may be cross-examined as to the truth of his statements: it ill becomes a Christian Minister, (unless perhaps he is a *Mahometan* missionary), to make such statements to a chance traveller, and not to bring it before the notice of a Conference of missionaries, or report it to his own Committee. As a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I can certify that we hear news from every part of India about famines, and pestilences, and the condition of the people of India, and the opium trade, and secular education, but I have no recollection of the subject, of the misery of the people brought on by drunkenness encouraged by the Government. In a Committee containing at least a dozen retired Anglo-Indian civilians and soldiers, this would have produced a startling sensation, and would have led to inquiries and remonstrances to the Secretary of State for India.

It is the European brewers, distillers, and exporters who are rendering nugatory all the endeavours of a wise and benevolent Government to control a fearful evil, which appears to accompany education and civilization when unsanctified by the Christian religion, which inculcates the only real morality.

I place on record the rate of annual consumption in each of the five great Provinces:—

Bengal, a quarter of a gallon for every adult male,  
 Madras, less than a quarter.  
 Bombay, less than a gallon.  
 North-West Provinces, one pint.  
 The Panjáb, a quarter of a pint.  
 The whole of India, one bottle or a bottle and a half.

If the women are taken into calculation, and the boys and girls for whose unprotected state Mr. Caine expressed such anxiety, the average will fall still lower. The numbers are so enormous, it is not easy for those, who are only accustomed to the small population of Europe, to grasp the idea of a single province with a population of sixty-six millions, and an Empire of two hundred and fifty: the amount of liquor which would drench England, is only a sprinkling when scattered over India.

Sir Richard Temple, M.P., made the following statement in the House of Commons in 1887: if any one knows India, he does, and he is in no respect the paid defender or in the least dependent on the Government of India:—

With regard to the civil administration, it had been said that in order to stimulate the Excise they were driving the people into intemperance. He gave that statement the most emphatic denial. If there was any tendency to intemperance, the Government of India would soon take steps to stop that danger. Anything further from the mind of the Government of India than the idea he referred to could not be imagined, and, indeed, very few populations were less liable to intemperance than the people of India.

I have very little to thank the Government of India for, not even a retiring pension: but I love the people of India very dearly, and after a careful examination of the systems of administration of subject countries by any nation in ancient or modern times, I have come to the conviction that the much-abused Government of India is the most sympathetic, the most just, the most tolerant, and the most influenced by Christian wisdom, liberality, and conscientiousness, that the world has ever seen; it is not then a matter of surprise that, as I hold such sentiments, the speeches of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith could not be overlooked: there were but two alternatives: to admit the truth of their statements, and join them in the crusade, or to combat them, as I do now. The Government of India has to submit to much contumely, but it appears to affect it very little: in the consciousness of right it is strong; the Indian press is free, and the records of the State are freely published: there is nothing to conceal.

I was attending in May a meeting of a Missionary Society, and as I passed in at the door in company of an ex-Viceroy, a paper was thrust into our hands, entitled "Licensing of Sin in India," which at the first glance I imagined to be an after-clap of the attack from the cloisters of Westminster, but No! it was a blast from the cloisters of Winchester, dictated by the wife of a Canon of that Cathedral, charging the Government of India with the encouragement of vice, really for the love of vice, for no imputation is made of a desire for gain in this matter. The charge will no doubt grow. Some Missionary (name not given) will meet a travelling M.P., and assure him that this diabolical measure is only another turn of the revenue screw, another indication that "the official Society of British India is rotten to the core": this time it is the Commander-in-Chief and the British Army that is attacked, not the Civil Governor and the Civil Service: but those who know Lord Dufferin and the Council of India, would rather trust the lives, and honour, and interests, of the women of India to their care, than to Professor Stuart and Mesdames Butler and Booth.

What can be done?

It should be impressed upon the Government of India that there should be triennial reviews of the Excise system, and the greatest watchfulness maintained over the working of the system, as carried out by native subordinates, who cannot be trusted: there should be some special officer in each province: his salary can be provided from the ever-increasing Excise. A stop at once should be placed on the use of intoxicating liquors in any college, or hospital, or office of the State. Intoxication should be punished by instant dismissal.



Bands of Hope, Temperance Societies, and a Temperance Literature in all the languages of India, should be encouraged. A Missionary tells me that they are already formed in the Panjáb, and no doubt in other provinces, as there is a strong feeling in its favour amidst a large section of the community: it is not like introducing a new religion: it is an attempt to enforce a rule of morality, in which all agree, whether Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Parsí, Jew, Nature-worshipper, Mahometan, or Brahmoist. The unwarranted attacks of Missionaries on Caste have been very prejudicial, as caste rules are great preservatives of the decencies of life and should be respected.

Sensational abuse should cease: the matter is too solemn for platform eloquence. Fanaticism does no good. Henry V. of England, a reformed rake, intended to root the vine out of France if he had lived: had he done so, he would have been equally intemperate in his manhood as in his youth. The existence of human tendencies in every race of mankind must be recognized as a fact: this is part of our physical constitution: the abundant supply of intoxicating materials in India is a fact also: this was part of nature's mysterious plan. We should try so to restrain the use by practical laws, that the weak may be held back from the abuse of what, if moderately used, is lawful. Centuries ago an abbey was built on Thorney Island, which became the most illustrious in the world: within a radius of five miles round this abbey, a larger amount of drink is consumed than in any other equal area: is the abbey to blame?—The liquor consumed is both indigenous and foreign imports. The Empire of India is the most illustrious in the world in wealth, population, products and arts: the Indian Nation were foremost in science, commerce, manufacture, and literature, when the British were still savages clad in skins: and yet I have conclusively shewn, that at all periods of their ancient history, they had among them a section of the community who abused the good gifts of nature: and since the connection of India with Europe, the evil has *been intensified by the import of the liquid poison of Europe*: is the Government of India to blame?

And how can the British nation throw stones in this particular at the Indian? "Physician, heal thyself," would be the reply from India if it were as free as Australia. The great Indo-European or Aryan race, in its vast expansion from India to Ireland, has been for many centuries great in arms, arts, science and legislation, and everything that can render the human race illustrious, but it has in all its branches, Kelt, Teuton, Slav, Italo-Greek, Iranic and Indic, been always famous, in spite of the priest and moralist, for its passion

for intoxicating liquors, and at this day the Teuton has become the great poisoner of the world. Their footsteps have been dyed in blood, and their hands steeped in drink, in their grand march over continent and island: they talk of civilization and religion, but what they have given to Africa and Oceania is one grain of Bible teaching drowned in tons of drink. The wages of the day-labourer have been paid in demijohns of gin: the exchange of compliments with a Chief-tain has been in a "dash" of brandy. Unless the conscience of Christian nations is roused, nothing can be done. The legislature of British India could in some way protect itself, if the iron hand of Manchester were lifted up, and it had the same independence of taxation of imports as the Dominion of Canada and the Colonies of South Africa and Australia. Some arrangements might be made for the interior distribution of European liquor among European residents in British India, if a prohibitory import duty could be placed upon all liquors imported beyond *sea for the use of the natives of India, their consent having been obtained to this arrangement*: until this is done, there is no hope for the people of India.

This paper will be published in India and England, and will probably be translated into some of the Indian vernaculars: copies will be sent to the Missionary Societies of North America and the Continent. The false charge has gone forth: the reply shall follow. The press of Europe, America, and India can bring to the test the accuracy of my quotations from Indian authors, and the correctness of the facts stated in the Despatch of the Viceroy. As soon as this stumbling-block has been removed, the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society can resume its benevolent labours, and the Committee of the Missionary Societies can be raised from the state of suspended life caused by the speeches of Archdeacon Farrar and Mr. Samuel Smith. I am sorry to have come into collision with them, but

Amicus Plato: amicus Socrates: major amicus est Veritas.

LONDON, *January 1*, 1888.

ROBERT CUST.

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#### ART. V.—INTEMPERANCE.

**S**UBJOINED is the text of the interesting Address on the above subject delivered by Dr. Birch to the Church of England Temperance Society :—

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I am ashamed to say I was little more than acquainted with the existence of this Society when I was asked to speak to-night upon the *Medical Aspect of the Abuse of Alcohol* ; but I unhesitatingly consented to help a cause so obviously good, in my small way, by stating in plain language my experiences and professional conclusions. I confess, however, that I was startled when your Secretary subsequently sent me this circular, and my eye happened first to fall upon Declaration B. I had better state at once that I am not prepared to advocate total abstinence *à outrance*, as being either essential or practicable. I have often observed that the blue ribbon is most frequently worn by innocent girls who probably never in their lives dipped further into intemperance than sipping a little champagne at a wedding breakfast. At the same time I am ready to confess, well would it have been had the art of manufacturing spirituous liquors never been discovered. But as practical men we must deal with the world as we find it, not as we would wish it. An authority says, “if alcohol were unknown, half the sin, and a large part of the poverty and unhappiness in the world, would disappear.” However, upon perusing the whole circular, I observed that the three objects which animate the Society, cannot but command the sympathies of all right thinking persons, and that Declaration B is merely an alternative framed to meet special cases and circumstances. Then, again, your Secretary changes sympathy into enthusiasm when he writes me, “the object of the meeting is to raise the tone of public opinion on the matter, and get a broad statesman-like view of its various intricacies, instead of the narrow personal discussions between abstainers and non-abstainers, which are so often considered the sum and substance of temperance work.”

I, perhaps, have nothing new to tell you ;—it is the old, old story, the story of generations ; but a story, I believe, with shortening chapters.

Had anything been needed to stimulate me to join you this evening, it was that on the very day I received the invitation, I had seen three men, all strong, hale, and otherwise robust specimens of Britons,—men, too, of some education—raving lunatics from the effects of alcohol. Two were locked up in cells like wild beasts, a third was secured to his bed by sheets ;

and while I was occupied in giving directions for their treatment, an application for accommodation for a fourth victim was handed me.

But those who suffer from acute mania (*delirium tremens*) by no means represent the majority of the sufferers. It is not even the drunkard—he who escapes the maniacal condition—who is representative of the evil done by the abuse of alcohol. Steady systematic excess, which can usually be educated to a high point (and it is wonderful what fostering care is frequently devoted to its full attainment) is the really fearful producer of evil to the evil doer and misery to others.

Allow me to relate a little incident which happened some two or three years ago. I was called upon to give evidence in the High Court in Calcutta, in a case of a disputed Life Assurance Policy. I knew nothing of the case personally, but was called as, what they term in law, an expert—rather unkind considering the subject! Well, I appeared for the Company, and in cross examination I was asked—"But what do you mean by intemperance?" Now, definitions are uncommonly nasty things to deal with, especially when one is on one's oath in the witness box. However, I replied "there are *two* kinds of intemperance, the intemperance of bestiality and physiological intemperance"—and I thought myself well out of it; but I was not to be let off so easily. "Oh! yes, we all know what bestial intemperance means, but let us hear what physiological intemperance is? This was a poser: here I was out of the frying pan into the fire. I hesitated for a moment, and then, knowing that brevity is an essential element in a reply to a lawyer, answered "a man who exceeds 3 pegs a day is, in my opinion, physiologically intemperate." *I thought* I observed a surprised look upon the faces of some of the junior members of the bar, and I believe the reply served as a subject of conversation in the bar library, at tiffin hour, for some time subsequently. Yet I spoke advisedly and with the solemnity of an oath upon me.

Well, now I shall take you a little further into my confidence than I did the Court on that occasion, though I must confess I am almost as desirous of escaping from this platform as I was from the witness box. Physiological intemperance!—let us put aside the 3 pegs for the moment and ask more about it. I think it will bear an obvious sub-division into chronic alcoholism, and that smaller amount of excess which oversteps the consumption compatible with the maintenance of health. What is that amount? Authorities tell us that 1 to 1½ fld. ozs. of absolute alcohol is the maximum which a healthy man should take; 1 oz. of absolute alcohol is equivalent 2 ozs. of brandy (50%) 5 ozs. sherry (20%) 10 ozs. claret (10%) and 20 ozs. beer (5%). If these quantities be increased by ½, 1 ½ ozs.



absolute alcohol will have been taken, and the limit of moderation for strong men reached.

But whether we have the greater or lesser degree of physiological intemperance, the effects are the same—they differ but in degree and rapidity of action. I am particularly anxious to avoid a medical digression, but I must say a few words in explanation. Gastric disorders are an early symptom ; with these come loss of temper, chronic querulousness and established dyspepsia ; the man is no longer trusted, nor does he trust others—his best friends are alienated—the muscles waste, and while too little food is taken, a quantity of unwholesome fat is stored up, unless the dyspepsia or actual disease happens to have outstripped the slower effects. Then the *morbid changes* are essentially those of wasting—atrophy we call it—the brain, for example, in proportion to the numerousness of the convolutions of which animals possess sense, becomes smooth and rounded by this wasting, and the deficiency is occupied by an increase of the natural fluids which lubricate the organ.

And what are the results ? They are moral and physical. I shall leave his Lordship to deal with the moral aspect, except to say that lying and cunning are vivid characteristics ; but the more common medical results are premature age, chronic kidney and liver disease, fatty heart, apoplexy from the rupture of degenerated arteries, and a peculiar paralysis of the legs ; while those who, through courtesy, are called *free livers*, succumb to pneumonia and fevers very easily. Chloroform to them is dangerous, and it is pretty certain that the abuse of alcohol plays an important part in the production of phthisis.

A very constant error is to suppose that the dangers of drinking are past and gone when the habit is abandoned. It is not so. It *may* be too late to take warning even when the commencement of a break down shows itself. Degenerative changes may have become established, which lead eventually to a sure shortening of life—as an example, take cirrhosis of the liver, the serious symptoms of which may not appear for a very long time after reform.

Terrible as is the contemplation of alcholic excesses in men, a similar vice in women is still more revolting ; but this much I am anxious to say, that though intemperance does exist among women, and often where least suspected, I, as a physician of a tolerably large experience, feel convinced that the sensational accounts which we every now and again hear, are exaggerated. Still it exists, and exists, I know, in unsuspected places. It is especially revolting ! If the word "*unsexed*" has any meaning as applied to women, it is here well suited. Every womanly attribute—refinement, gentleness, modesty—are swept away. Cunning and lying then reach even a higher climax than in the case of the man. Some little shadow of

shame may still remain, consequently the tippling is in secret—secret from her dearest friend—and a woman so debased will descend to suborn her servants to procure liquor or some substitute for it for her—even eau de Cologne, or tincture of lavender.

Here let me say one word in defence of the doctors. Do not imagine that every time you hear the doctor accused of having ordered the "*stimulant*," he is guilty. Whether man or woman, the drinker will seize upon any excuse which will tend to endow his vice with the slightest tincture of virtue, and lying is the only means of attaining this end. The physician's mouth is closed, otherwise I could relate instances which would astonish this meeting.

So far, we can be generous to women,—their failures are few comparatively; but let us also be just. Who are the chief sufferers? Are they not the helpless wives and their children?—and if there is one thing more than another which has struck me with admiration throughout my professional career, it is the loyalty of women to their drunkard husbands. Even the long misery which is entailed seldom shakes their true womanly loyalty, that grand attribute of the sex, which we cannot help reverencing. The men, I say, are infinitely the greater sinners in this respect. Sir E. Sieveking calculates 1 drunkard to every 74 of the male population, and 1 to every 434 females; and 1 to every 145 persons of both sexes over 20 years of age.

The temptations to drink among a certain class of Europeans in this country is very great. Men of the artisan class are, as a rule, isolated; they have no companionship, no amusements after a long day's trying work in a depressing climate. All this may not, in a code of morality, be accepted as an excuse; but we, as men of common sense, knowing the facts and frailties of humanity, are bound to consider it in a practical way.

To secure a trustworthy European for any minor post is a very difficult thing. Only the other day I had the painful duty of dismissing from his employment, an old man, the victim of chronic alcoholism: a man who had served his Queen and country in one capacity or another for about 30 years. With tears in his eyes he thanked me for past kindnesses, admitted that I was bound to act as I had done, but said it was of no use, he could not give up drink, and in this helplessly deliberate mood he has disappeared.

Chronic alcoholism in its graver forms, is, I greatly regret to say, very prevalent among the better class of Bengalis,—chiefly, however, among the uneducated or partially educated rich. When the Bengali drinks,—he drinks. A very large number of deaths among our Bengali fellow subjects occur in this city from the indirect results of alcoholism. I am sure every



medical practitioner in the town will uphold me in this statement.

How apathetic are we in this matter! What a fuss we make about cholera! But which claims the greater number of victims in this city of Calcutta, cholera or alcohol? I say alcohol does, considerably more. I do not make the statement loosely; I have examined statistics. In the General Hospital in 1886 we had of—

Cholera admitted	...	41	died	29
Alcoholism „	...	149	„	18

In 1887

Cholera admitted	...	33	died	21
Alcoholism „	...	105	„	22

Now almost all cases of cholera are sent to hospital, not so with alcoholic cases. Yet the number of deaths is similar, though deaths from alcoholism are returned most frequently under dropsy, paralysis, apoplexy, kidney or liver diseases.

Let us glance at the question from a Life Insurance point of view. I have this duty to perform daily on behalf of the largest Life Office in India. In this connection I consider temperance preëminently the important consideration. Sir E. Sieveking, talking of the expectation of life at different ages, says “an intemperate person of 20 has reduced the average expectation from 44·2 years to 15·6; a person of 30 from 36·5 to 13·8; a person of 40 from 28·8 to 11·6; and also that while diseases of the nervous system and digestive organs give rise to 15·9 per cent. of deaths in the population at large, they form 50·40 per cent. of all deaths among the intemperate. I have found this a safe working basis, but I believe the consequences to be still more serious in India.

There is something in a name. Alcohol is termed a *stimulant*. Is this true? It is only true to a very limited extent. Used incautiously it is a depressant, but I must not occupy time further by going into this part of the question.

One other point, though I may be encroaching upon his Lordship's ground. I cannot but allude to the injury sometimes done to young men, when new to India, by the advice tendered by their elders. I have known an ancient and gnarled mofussil devotee of the bottle, whom neither malaria nor brandy could kill, invariably advise young men upon arrival within his pestilential district, to “keep their livers well afloat” from the commencement, as the only means of maintaining health, and he pointed to himself as an example—and such an example is too often accepted as living evidence of what can be accomplished. His only excuse is that he himself believes in his theory!

I really must not weary you with more words. I told you I had nothing new to tell you, and I only wish I had told what I have said a little better.

ART. VI.—SOME IDEAS ABOUT THE REMARRIAGE  
OF HINDU WIDOWS.

THE condition in which Hindu widows have to pass their life is, generally speaking, so deplorable, that it is impossible for any right-minded man not to take a deep interest in the question of their amelioration. Not being allowed to marry again, they have in the majority of cases, to live as dependents on their parents, or on the relatives of their deceased husband. In some instances, widows acquire great power in the families in which they live by the services which they render for the sake of love and affection only. But as a general rule their life is made miserable, not only by their perpetual widowhood, but by the austerities which they are required, by their moral training, to practise. They have to abstain from all kinds of luxuries; they are allowed to take only one meal in a day, and, twice in each lunar month; they have to fast for twenty-four hours, without even a drop of water to quench their thirst. The ideal of life, which is forced on them, is no doubt a noble one. But their purity and piety are, in a great many cases, due only to that moral tyranny of society, which is infinitely worse than physical compulsion. So long as they are not allowed to re-marry, the discipline to which they are subjected, serves to keep them in the path of virtue. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the restraints which are put upon them, materially intensify their misery.

Such being their condition, the question of their re-marriage is very properly occupying a large share of the attention of some of my countrymen. There may be considerable room for difference of opinion as to their objections against what they call '*child marriage*.' But so far as they advocate the remarriage of widows, they cannot but have the sympathy of all good and thoughtful men. The point in their attitude, which may not be generally approved, is their irreverence to our *Shastras*. The moral discipline to which the teachings of our holy legislators subjected Hindu society for centuries, has been productive of a great deal of good, and it would be a great misfortune to the country, if the result of that discipline be allowed to be undone by such sweeping measures as are advocated by some of our reformers. To me, it seems, that the remarriage of widows can be made possible, consistently with the precepts of our holy codes; and, in this view, I cannot approve the



radical changes in our social institutions, which some of my countrymen are trying hard to bring about.

Our *Shastras* do not prohibit the re-marriage of widows.

Re-marriage of Hindu  
widows not prohibited  
by *Shastras*.

By declaring that it is laudable on the part of widows to abstain from matrimony, our legislators no doubt discouraged the re-marriage of widows. But the texts which enjoin that widows should pass their lives in piety and devotion, are mere moral precepts, and not mandatory law. It is a fundamental principle of the interpreters of our *Shastras* that texts which only promise rewards, are not absolutely binding on any one. The Hindu exegetes regard only those injunctions as binding which contain a penalty clause. Now there is no text—at least I am not aware of any—which goes so far as to lay down that a widow by re-marrying consigns her soul to the torments of hell. Some orthodox Pundits hold the opinion that widows are bound to remain unmarried. But the foundation on which their view of the law rests, is admitted even by them to be very slender. On taking an unbiased view of the passages in our *Shastras* on the point, it appears clear that, like the texts which authorize *Sattee*, the texts which forbid re-marriage of widows, are optional precepts and not obligatory injunctions. [Yagvalka, Chapter I, verse 75 ; Manu, Chapter V. verse 158]. But owing to their position of dependence and their want of education, the widows have to conform even to such optional precepts as apply to them ; while the male members of Hindu society violate with impunity such mandatory injunctions, as those against the drinking of spirituous liquors and association with degraded persons.

Though the re-marriage of widows is not prohibited by

Causes which have  
rendered it obsolete.

our—holy—legislators, in practice Hindu widows are not married for the following reasons :—

- (1.) Because in the classification of wives and sons, a very inferior rank is given to remarried widows and their sons.
- (2.) Because there is no positive injunction in our *Shastras* making it the duty of the guardian of a widowed girl to give her in marriage.
- (3.) Because giving a girl in marriage involves such an amount of trouble and expense, that Hindu fathers have very strong motives to be indifferent as to the remarriage of their widowed daughters.
- (4.) Because the Zenana system, and the Hindu abhorrence of endogamous marriage, render it impossible for females to exercise that right of

choosing their own bridegrooms which our *Shastras* give to them, when their guardians neglect to give them in marriage.

For the reasons stated above, widows were seldom remarried even in ancient times. The practice which found favor with the ancient Hindus was *Niyoga*, or appointment to

Ancient practice of *Niyoga*.

raise issue on the widow of a deceased person. While this practice prevailed, remarriage in regular form was not necessary, and was consequently rare. But *Niyoga* was strongly condemned by Manu, though, at the same time, he laid down rules for its proper regulation. The conflicting texts on the subject in his code, have led some scholars to suppose that the texts which condemn the practice are interpolations. But the sage *Vrihaspati* himself has noticed the conflict; and there is, therefore, a strong presumption against the interpolation theory. The fact is that the apparent inconsistency can be sufficiently accounted for without admitting that any addition or alteration has been made, by some profane hand, in the original. In all probability the practice of *Niyoga* widely prevailed in the country in the time of Manu. He could not

How it also became obsolete.

therefore abolish it by a stroke of his pen. So he condemned it as strongly as possible, and at the same time imposed such restrictions on it as to make it die a natural death. The practice was so natural and perhaps so common also, that the sage could not declare it as illegal. But he laid down that it was legal only when made on a childless widow, for the purpose of begetting one male child [Manu, Chapter IX, verse 60.] He laid down also that after the birth of one male child, the parties should regard each other as father and daughter-in-law [*Ibid*, verse 62.] These, and the many other restrictions imposed on *Niyoga*, rendered it obsolete in practice, and also increased the repugnance of Hindus against the remarriage of widows.

As things are now, the habits, ideas, and associations which are developed in the Hindu mind, render it impossible for the orthodox to conceive that a widow can be married again; the idea of an adult widow marrying again, instead of passing her days in piety and austerities, seems to be shocking to the moral sense of Hindus generally. With respect to virgin widows, the feeling of repugnance against their remarriage is not quite so strong. Even orthodox Hindu parents are, at times, touched by pity for their deplorable lot, and seriously think of giving them in marriage again, though practically they cannot do so, because society collectively would not

Orthodox feeling with reference to the remarriage of widows.



countenance such action. Remarriage of virgin widows is clearly allowed by *Shastras* [Manu, Chapter IX, verse 176.] And individually most Hindus are willing to favor the matrimony of girls whose husbands die before they attain puberty. But from the very nature of the case, no individual, however powerful, can possibly effect the necessary reform by his own exertions only. There is a tradition that the famous Raja Rajballabh of Dacca, having a widowed daughter, tried his best to give her in marriage again. But with all his influence in the Court of Murshidabad, he failed to attain his object. He applied for the sanction of the great Pundits of his time, through their recognised head the Raja of Nuddea. The Pundits were quite willing to give a favorable opinion. But the Raja of Nuddea, while outwardly professing to support the wishes of Raja Rajballabh, secretly encouraged the Pundits to give an adverse opinion on the ground of custom.

It is now more than 30 years since the Widow Marriage Act. Act has removed whatever doubts existed formerly as to the validity of second marriages by Hindu widows. Yet instances of their remarriage are so rare, that the present state of things is very nearly what it was before the passing of the Act. The fact is that widows are precluded from marrying, not on account of any doubt as to the legality of their marriage, but in consequence of the Zenana system and the other causes mentioned above. The Widow Marriage Act has therefore, practically left the law where it was.

After giving to the subject my best consideration, it seems to me that the necessary reform can be successfully brought about only by giving proper facilities for the exercise of that right of *Sayambara*, which our *Shastras* give to damsels whose parents neglect to give them in marriage. [Manu Chapter IX, verse 90 : Jajnavalka, Chapter I, verse 64.] Literally interpreted, the texts apply only to *maidens*. But according to a well-known principle of interpretation, recognised by our exegetes, the same rule can be held to apply to *widows* also. At any event, widows can reasonably claim the benefit of the rule, where their guardians refuse to give them in marriage.

I am quite aware that there are many Hindu widows who would not marry again, even if every facility be given to them. But, if I am not greatly mistaken, there are also many who would gladly marry again, if allowed to do so. With very few exceptions, Hindu parents themselves would only be too glad to remarry their daughters, if they see the way to do so without incurring the odium of heterodoxy, or giving a handle to enemies for social persecutions. Supposing that there are

orthodox Hindus whose religious belief would not allow them to sanction even the *Sayambar* of their widowed daughters, such men cannot reasonably claim to have their feelings and prejudices respected so far, as to be allowed to interfere with the freedom of their grown up children.

There is nothing in our *Shastras* which makes it incumbent upon Hindu brothers and fathers, to prevent the remarriage of their widowed daughters and sisters by compulsion. If a widow chooses to pass her life in piety and austerities, without marrying again, she attains great merit. But if she desires to marry, then, I think, her father has no right to prevent her from exercising her right of *Sayambar*. And, in this view, I should think that the legislature may, very properly, make it incumbent on the guardians of a widow to give her reasonable facilities for being taken in marriage again. No Hindu father would willingly allow his grown up daughters to converse with strangers. But no reasonable objection can be made by the father to allow indirect communication between his daughter and her suitors, through some member of the family. If he prevents all communication, and refuses to give proper facilities for *Sayambar*, the Courts ought to have jurisdiction to prevent the exercise of undue influence by him. At the instance of any relative of the family or any eligible bridegroom, not actuated by any improper motive, the Courts ought to have a discretionary power to call upon the father, or any of his relatives, to ascertain the wishes of the girl, and to file affidavits. A remedy of this kind would be quite sufficient to overcome any reluctance on the part of the father of a 'virgin' widow to give her in marriage. At any rate, the experiment seems to me worth trying.

With respect to the difficulty of ascertaining whether a widow is a virgin or not, I need hardly observe that it can be obviated by defining the term 'virgin' as including females of a certain age who have never borne any children.

Those who are opposed to the reformation may question the legality of *Sayambar*, on the ground that it is unknown in practice. But no one who has any knowledge of the law of our *Smritis* can honestly raise any such objection. Ceremonies like *Jyotistoma* and *Agnistoma* are altogether unknown in practice, yet no Hindu lawyer can contend that the celebration of these *jags* would be improper and unproductive of any religious merit, in the present age. The fact is, that practices which are unusual are not necessarily illegal.

It may be urged again, that even if every facility be given for *Sayambar*, the Hindu repugnance against the taking of widows in marriage is so strong, that eligible bridegrooms would not be forthcoming. This objection does not, I think,



ably to the case of "virgin" widows. Where the marriage of an youth is arranged by his parents or grandparents, preference would be generally given to little girls, who can be made pets, and not to widows, too old to be treated as children. But cases frequently arise, in which widowers and old bachelors amongst us, have to select their own brides. And these men would, I should think, give preference to grown up "virgin" widows, instead of taking girls of nine or ten to be the companions of their life, and mistresses of their household. In all the superior castes, there are some members whose rank is so low, that they cannot get married at all, except at a ruinous cost. If only to avoid the expense, they would be only too glad to marry even widows, instead of leading a disreputable life, and having to bear the stigma which, in Hindu society, is always implied in bachelorship—an old bachelor being necessarily taken to be a man of inferior rank.

For obvious reasons I refrain from going into details. If the main features of the proposal which is submitted for consideration, be approved, there will not, I think, be much difficulty in settling the details.

JOGENDRANATH BHATTACHARJEE.

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#### ART. VII.—SOME REFORMERS. \*

A GREAT deal of ingenuity is expended now-a-days by those who do not know Law, with the object of convincing the general public (who are only too willing to be so convinced) that Law is a thing which by reason of the machinations of lawyers has been rendered unreasonable and preposterous in itself, and that, if only the particular *panacea* recommended by the industrious explorer were applied, Law would straightway become perspicuous and simple, and would commend itself to the approval of ordinary men. On the one hand we have men of education and acuteness giving the public their views upon the so-called 'Philosophy' or 'Science' of Law; endeavouring to explain how this meets or divides itself from the other kinds of Learning with which they may happen to be familiar; what bearing the study of Psychology, or Logic, or History, has upon that of Law; and how the different topics of Law may be arranged under various divisions in an orderly system, so as properly to reduce Legal Science to one of the accepted Sciences. Again, we have, especially in India, numerous amateur jurists and lawgivers who strike boldly into the difficult paths of an intricate subject, with the sanguine conviction that at their touch what was dubious and baffling will become plain and obvious, and that, if the law were but arranged under various Codes in a series of concise principles, any man of intelligence might apply it with safety and certainty to any particular set of circumstances.

We do not know which of these classes of Reformers is most likely to fall into mistakes by the way, and be deluded in the high expectations which they may have formed of their mission of enlightenment. The former class have a legitimate object, and their labours are likely to lead to some profit if they can define more clearly the relation of Law to other branches of Human Knowledge. Starting with logical methods, they may, by degrees, methodise the Philosophy of Law, and make it plainer for the learner and more intelligible to the learned.

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\* 1. *Raj Kumar Law Lectures*, being Elementary Lectures on Law (chiefly the Criminal Law of India) addressed to the senior students of the Ráj Kumár College at Rajkot. By George Clifford Whitworth, Bombay Civil Service, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Judicial Assistant to the Political Agent in Kathiawar. Bombay: Printed at the Educational Society's Press, Byculla, 1888.

2. *Outlines of the Science of Jurisprudence*. An Introduction to the Systematic study of Law. Translated and edited from the Juristic Encyclopædias of Puchta, Friedländer, Falck, and Ahrens, by W. Hastie, M. A. Translator of 'Kant's Philosophy'; 'The Philosophy of Art,' by Hegel and C. L. Michelet; Pünjer's 'Christian Philosophy of Religion,' etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1887.



The other class, when they attempt to apply their ideas to the practical difficulties which arise every day in determining Rights as they exist between man and man, must invariably be brought to feel their inability to cope with these difficulties without a proper mental and moral training. Unfortunately, in India, their mistakes usually go uncriticised, and they continue in sublime ignorance of their failure.

It will be best to dismiss the *Raj Kumar Law Lectures* first with a few words of explanation. These consist of a number of elaborately simple addresses, which remind one of the manuals or *encheiridia* of Natural Science, Political Economy or History, which used to be in vogue in young ladies' seminaries, the principal object of which appeared (to the outsider) to be, to impress upon the young and callow student the All-wise and Beneficent intentions of the Being upon whom he was dependent for his instruction. This fact being kept well before the learner, he was conducted by a series of more or less trite and obvious propositions all round the fringe of his subject; the secondary object of the professor being to avoid the real and patent difficulties, and to make difficulties out of such conceptions as the human mind most ordinarily grasps with ease, thereby (as is common enough) underrating the intelligence and critical insight of his hearers. The Rajkumar College at Rajkot is said to be an Institution where young Chiefs receive a physical and mental training such as will fit them for the position they may hereafter occupy as rulers of their people. Mr. Whitworth explains in his Preface that he has endeavoured to 'confine the subject to such principles, and to such details of practice, as an intelligent and efficient ruler of a State might be expected to be acquainted with,' and that he has 'tried to approach each branch of the subject rather as a spectator of legal proceedings, or as a citizen interested in them, than as a law-student or practitioner.' With these objects in view, and having, as we suppose, undergone a temporary self-effacement, Mr. Whitworth proceeds to explain and define the elementary conceptions of Law and its Codification, the different classes of Offences, the Law of Criminal Procedure from the time an accused person is first brought to trial up to the conclusion of the trial, including the Examination of Witnesses; and, in conclusion, we have a short discussion of various topics of Civil Law.

We are far from wishing to depreciate what is an honest effort to render assistance in the field of Legal Education in India. But it is to be questioned whether the ideas of the young Chiefs before drinking at this fountain of legal knowledge were not every whit as clear and satisfactory as they are now. Among a vigorous and manly people

such they may be supposed to be, the notions of Sovereignty and Punishment are strong, and they are more likely to be assisted by their own unaided common sense, and by such experience as they may gain as rulers, than by a second-hand edition of the Indian Codes. What they would themselves probably desire to see would be striking examples of Judges and Magistrates among the Government officers whom they may meet. The force of living examples will do more to raise their ideas of Sovereignty, and to stimulate their ambition than a hundred dissertations or disquisitions, treating them as if they were grown up children with backward intellects. We repeat, that for such people there is more hope that they will become honest and incorruptible Governors, than for the subtler and more refined peoples of Eastern India.

The *Outlines of Jurisprudence* is a book which merits more serious attention. As a translation it is written with a certain amount of vigour and felicity of language, and it displays both the ability and the enthusiasm of the translator. For his views upon legal subjects it is necessary to turn to the Preface, from which it is not difficult to see what are the merits and demerits of the work. Mr. Hastie, having apparently given his attention of late to the study of Jurisprudence, has brought himself to believe that nothing but intercourse with German ideas will assist us. He is one of those who think that, in the German conception of 'Right,' is contained all that is required for the expansion and developement of Jurisprudence as a Science or a Philosophy. He regards the study of the Law in England as in want of a 'more scientific and systematic discipline,' and insists upon 'the necessity of realizing the essential and organic connection of jurisprudence with the whole domain of social and political science, and the consequent demand for a practical elevation of the Legal Profession in accordance with its new ideals and responsibilities.'

The last sentence somewhat savours of the regret which is not uncommon with men who, after a lifetime spent in the so-called pursuit of knowledge, find their methods of thought unable to stand the plain practical tests applied by the law courts, and who thereupon blame the 'profession,' because they have not taken the trouble to study mankind. In order to assist in his object, Mr. Hastie has translated some five works of the lesser known German Jurists, being elementary Juristic Encyclopaedia which aim at leading up to Juristic study generally, by dealing with the Principles of Freedom and Right in the manner in which they are usually treated by the German School. So far as we can see, we must confess, there is nothing remarkable to the scholar, or likely to be of much assistance to the student in these works 'of acknowledged masters,' as Mr. Hastie



calls them, 'who have sounded all the depths and shoals of their science in the search for solid truth and fruitful possession,' (whatever this may mean) and 'who have had their right to lead and guide, authenticated by the fidelity of their enthusiastic scholars, and the consequent deepening and enriching of knowledge in every department of their science.'

The strongest argument against the German Juristic Philosophy appears to us to be, that it has been proved demonstratively and beyond doubt, to be based upon a loose and mistaken notion of the word 'Right.' Therein lies the whole pith and substance of this theory of the Philosophy of Law. The utterance of the word appears to call up, in the German mind, visions of Freedom and the Rights of citizens, and Patriotism and Order and the Harmony of the Universe. Hence it is that they are able to argue upwards from the narrow conception of a 'right,' as vested in the 'Person of Inherence,' and exercised against the 'Person of Incidence,' to a wider and more general notion of Law as having the Universe for its seat, and for its voice the harmony of the world. The Germans may gain much by the two-fold use of the word, but when its different acceptations are analysed, and the Science of Jurisprudence, as dealing with jural relations in the every day world, separates itself out from the Philosophy of Law as constituting the fringe of the science where it meets and blends with the other departments of human knowledge, the practical, if somewhat unimaginative English mind prefers to hold on by Austin's Analysis of Rights and Sovereignty now indelibly written in the pages of English Jurisprudence.

Mr. Hastie in his search for a more scientific legal education and a reformation of the Philosophy and Science of Law, quarrels with the theory of Utility first of all, and then with the theory of Sovereignty. The first as being controversial of the 'great modern principle of political equality,' and the second as 'making all Law the creation of arbitrary will.' It is sufficient to remark as regards the first, that the principle of Political Equality is by no means modern, but is founded upon a theory, the baselessness of which appears to us to be demonstrated every day; a theory which proceeds upon mistaken assumptions as to the capacity and character of individual men—the theory that each man on being born into the world acquires equal ineffaceable rights; and which, were it accepted in its fullest sense, would render Government of all kinds impossible. As regards the second, it is tolerably obvious that all Government must depend upon the will of some one, whether it be Hobbe's King, or Austin's Sovereign, or the sovereign People as represented by a free and enlightened House of Commons; and whenever a command of the Ruling Power

is issued (and it frequently may be a most arbitrary one) the whole power of the State must be available to enforce it. For the conclusions of Bentham and Austin, Mr. Hastie would substitute the idea of a 'principle of Right implanted in the consciousness of the people.' By doing this he arrives in some way, not very easy to follow, at the notion of a 'living Science of Law.'

We can well understand how the German idea of Legal Philosophy arises, since the word 'Right' is for them instinct with all kinds of associations unknown to us. But if we may venture to say so, most of the progress made in the Science of Jurisprudence of late has been owing to English workers. It is idle to say that the theory of Utility and the theory of Sovereignty have been proved to have lost their original meaning, and must therefore be discarded. Ever since they were promulgated, these theories have been discussed and weighed, and a pile of sound juristic criticism has been built upon them. If Mr. Hastie would take the trouble to compare some of Professor Pollock's and Professor Holland's writings with the aphorisms of Puchta, Friedländer, and Falck, he would see that for sound work in the legitimate Science of Jurisprudence, England can get no assistance from Germany. We hope that Mr. Hastie will continue to carry on the work of translation which he proposes to himself, and of which the present work is an instalment. It is only right that the standard classical writings of the better known jurists of the Continent should be readable in an English form. They will be of interest to the professor and the scholar, but they will not assist much in clearing away the already numerous difficulties which lie in the path of the student of law; and he must clear a way for himself, through what has been called 'the tangled growth of precedent,' before he can attain to any clear ideas of his own on any subject.

If the problem of Legal Education in England presents less difficulties every year, we cannot afford to disregard the fact that in India the same problem daily grows more intractable and discouraging. Many of the races of this country may be said, in a sense, to have a *genius* for law. Their natural intelligence is great, and to a quick and ingenious facility for perceiving minute differences, they add a vast and retentive memory which is the envy of non-Asiatics. Hence there is arising in our Courts of Justice an enormous class of practitioners versed in the letter of the law, but knowing nothing of its spirit; possessed of powers of vague and discursive argument, but unable, through absence of plain common sense, to appreciate and adhere to a sound logical conclusion; without a high professional standard; without any real grasp of the principles upon which the edifice of law is built; looking only to the



expediency of the moment, and how they may propitiate or mislead the Gamaliels before whom they practise.

This state of things may be due to two causes. In the first place there is the extreme ignorance and simplicity of the rural masses, and the difficulty of arriving at the truth except by inverse processes of reasoning, and by paying minute attention to circumstances, in themselves of small importance, but which may afford a clue in the devious maze of truth and falsehood. To separate the one from the other requires nothing short of a trained mind and long experience, and where the Judge happens in both these respects, to be inferior to the advocate who appears before him, it is not surprising that the latter should sometimes avail himself of the obscurity which surrounds the simplest facts of the case, and should lend himself to the fabrication of a methodically and skilfully prepared scheme of defence or attack, where it is impossible to separate the truth and the falsehood without a long and patient enquiry and the exercise of the highest judicial faculties. In the second place, leaving mere questions of fact aside, where the Judge has at best a layman's knowledge of law, acquired by the reading of books and not by observation of the law courts, or practical business experience, it is only natural that he should be thwarted and obstructed at every turn by the wiles of advocacy, and that even the half-trained mofussil practitioner should feel himself in the possession of a power to defeat, delay, or misdirect justice to an extent scarcely dreamed of in other countries. All these causes tend to depress the level of professional honour and forensic ability, and were legal education more profound or thorough than it is, the result could only be, so long as the Judicial Service disregards and expunges from its training a course of regular professional instruction, to render more pronounced the difference between the Rich man's Law, and the Poor man's Law, and to place in the hands of the former a more formidable engine than he now possesses for crushing his enemies, and for diverting the administration of Justice to his private ends.

In this state of things neither amateur law lectures nor a contemplation of the harmony of the universe, will help us. What is required is plain teaching and trained judges, and as a logical consequence, the minor forensic artifices will disappear, and the law in India will cease to be an instrument of oppression.

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## A RUSSIAN LEGEND.

### "THE PESTILENCE THAT WALKETH IN DARKNESS."

In a vast and gloomy forest sat a traveller down to rest,  
'Twas a mellow summer evening, golden sunshine filled the west ;  
Far away in town and hamlet men and women watched the sight,  
And troops of laughing children hurried to be home before the night.  
But around that lonely traveller all the world a silence kept,  
While the deepening shades of evening slowly through the forest crept ;  
As he watched them gather round him, he was suddenly aware  
Of a gaunt and shadowy figure, for it stood beside him there.  
Then he would have fled in terror from the weird, unearthly sight,  
But it's power was laid upon him and a spell forbade his flight :  
With pale, trembling lips he questioned ' what may be thy sovereign will ' ?  
And a hollow voice gave answer ' all thy race I smite with ill.

' On thy shoulders thou shalt bear me far and wide upon the earth,  
' Where I come all joy is darkened, bitter anguish has its birth.'  
Then he felt it tower above him, yet no weight his shoulders bear,  
In his limbs came tireless vigour, in his heart a black despair.

So by haunts of men they wandered, over many a pleasant plain,  
And a plague smote down the dwellers while they called on God in vain !  
Here a joyous fair procession journeys with a youthful bride,  
Her sweet face is flushed with feeling, for her lover walks beside.  
In a moment o'er her flushes hath a hue of pallor spread,  
Wildly do his arms enfold her, in his arms she lieth—dead !

So by haunts of men they wandered, over many a hill and dale,  
Died all laughter from their presence, and there grew a bitter wail.  
Rosy was the mother's darling when the evening's sun was warm,  
At night she strains it to her bosom, sobbing o'er its lifeless form.

Came they to a narrow river, nigh upon whose other side,  
Might be seen a tiny village, but the traveller shunned the tide ;  
Then the spirit bade him enter, and his limbs perforce obeyed,  
Till they reached the midmost current where his course once more was  
stayed.

For it was his native village, in the village lived his wife,  
Three fair children she had borne him, and he loved her as his life.  
So upon the evil spirit at the thought his grasp grew tight,  
Then he plunged beneath the waves, and was for ever lost to sight.

' Ere the waves had ceased to eddy, rose the spirit from the place,  
Flowing water might not quench it, but an anger filled it's face—  
' Mighty monarchs I have smitten, vain their regal pomps were found,  
' And the armies they commanded, and the courtiers standing round.

' Wise and learn'd learn to tremble,—can their skill their lives defend,  
' Till their toil of many years ripens to a perfect end ?  
' Well I deemed that at my power earth would soon unpeopled be,  
' But they die to save each other ! this great courage troubles me.

Thus the spirit, sadly speaking, faded into thinnest air,  
And the sun came out rejoicing, there was gladness everywhere !

A. EWBANK.



## THE QUARTER.

THE quarter just closed was marked by one event of historic moment and universal interest. William Ludwig, Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia, died on the 9th of February 1888. The King was in his ninety-second year, and thus the German Prince who was old enough to remember the crowning humiliation of Jena, survived eighteen years the crowning mercy of Sedan. It is commonly believed, or at least commonly asserted, that the death of the Emperor William will bring about a great and sudden change in the international character of European politics in our time: but in the correctness of this prediction I can, by no means, believe. The event will produce at present no change whatever; if a change does occur, it will be due to causes which were at work before the Emperor died, and which that event will neither accelerate or retard—but the change to be looked for is an internal change in Germany herself, and *that* change will come about slowly and gradually and not suddenly. Before the Prusso-Austrian war in 1867, socialism in Germany was becoming a tremendous power. Bismarck grappled with it and overthrew it, but what was the weapon which he wielded with irresistible strength, and which for the time being laid German socialism in the dust? That weapon was the prestige and tradition of a monarchy identified in the eyes of the people with a glorious popular cause and with a succession of splendid national triumphs. That tradition and that prestige will remain to the Prussian monarchy a potent ally, in the inevitable struggle with socialism which is “looming in the future” of German history, but one by one the personal links binding Prussia to that glorious period are being removed, and the time will come when that tradition itself will be a “dim remembered story of the old time entombed.” In the meantime Sedan and Gravelotte have been to the Prussian monarchy what Marengo and Australitz would have been to the Napoleonic tradition, if the First Empire had never known a Leipsic or a Waterloo.

For the rest, things political have remained almost *in statu quo*. Russia, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the Czar, continues to gird up her loins for battle: Austria and Germany, notwithstanding the disclaimers of Count Kalnoky and Prince Bismarck, continue to gird up *their* loins for the coming struggle; Italy has taken up a position beside Austria and Germany; France

is very quiet but very watchful and prepared, and England,—well England is following what has become her traditional policy now, and doing nothing. A rumour which probably originated in Vienna, that nursery of political information and canards, gained very general credence in political circles during the quarter under review. It was to the effect that England, under certain conditions and within certain limitations, had joined the alliance of the central Powers. It is very probable, indeed, that there is something in this rumour—that some understanding has been arrived at with Prince Bismarck as regards the part England would take in case of Russian aggression on Austria and Germany. For the *motif* of that aggression will have a very direct interest for England. If Russia goes to war with Austria, the Austrian position and pretensions in the South-east of Europe will form the *casus belli*, and it was mainly owing to the profoundly skilful and far-seeing diplomacy of Bismarck at the time of the Berlin Treaty, that Austria was allowed,—or indeed as far as Germany was concerned—advised and recommended to occupy a position certain to bring her interests into conflict with those of Russia in connection with the necessary inevitable development of Russia's policy as Russia advances southwards towards Constantinople. On this advance it is necessary for England to keep a watchful eye. The uncertain element in the situation—the unknown factor—is the possible future policy of Bismarck himself. Germany, it is true, has contracted an alliance with Austria, but Germany has also contracted an alliance with Russia. The alliance is a triple one, and one proviso of that alliance—or rather of the treaty embodying that alliance—is worth the most attentive study. Germany is certainly bound to aid Austria if, in violation of the treaty, Russia *attacks* Austria, but Russia can very easily keep the letter of the treaty and entirely violate the spirit thereof. The Panjdeh incident was on a small scale an illustration in point. The Afghans were the first to cross the river Kuskh, and the first shot is said to have been fired from the Afghan side. So far the Afghans were the aggressors, but the Russians had taken up a position which left the Afghans at the mercy of the Russians, unless the Russian movements were met and neutralized by corresponding movements on the part of the Afghans. Austria may either be compelled to attack, or compelled to insist that Russia shall withdraw large masses of troops from threatening positions on the Galician frontier, and then the sin of aggression will be charged on Austria, and from a technical point of view, the conditions under which Germany was to afford aid to Austria, will not have arisen. Will Bismarck take advantage of this technicality to desert Austria at the last moment? It is quite possible that



he may—all things are possible with a statesman so adroit, far-seeing and unscrupulous—and the Austrians themselves, judging from the more recent utterances of the Austrian press, are not without the most serious misgivings and apprehensions as regards the future of the Austro-German alliance. Prince Bismarck himself has repeatedly declared that Germany has only a very remote and indirect interest in the Bulgarian question. Now Russia has a direct and immediate interest in the Bulgarian question, and so, thanks to the Berlin Treaty, has Austria. Now if the *casus belli* as between Russia and Austria is directly connected with the Bulgarian question—and if in connexion with the development of her designs on Bulgaria, Russia compels Austria to go to war—will Germany, as represented by Prince Bismarck, go to war with Russia? I feel certain that she will do nothing of the kind, and I feel equally certain that she would be a great fool if she did. But Germany abstaining from the war herself, and keeping her vigilant eye on France, might offer England to Austria as her “natural ally,” and perhaps it may come to pass that the next European war will be fought out between Russia on the one side and Austria and England on the other, Germany remaining neutral. And possibly Italy might join England and Austria. And this is very nearly what happened just after the treaty of San Stephano. At all events, in my opinion, it is far too readily assumed that Germany must take a part in the next European war, and I feel confident that Prince Bismarck’s diplomacy is directed to two ends: first, maintaining peace, and secondly bringing about a state of things which will have the effect of localizing any war that takes place in connexion with the Eastern question. The same general prediction has preceded every European war that has taken place since 1867, to be always falsified by the event. It was predicted that a war between Russia and Austria would inevitably “set Europe, in a blaze and so forth. The war took place and Austria was crushed at Sadowa—and Europe did not take fire, even France remained fire proof through that highly combustible period. Then came the war between France and Prussia in 1870. Oh! now the match had been thrown into the European powder barrel at last, and a general explosion must ensue. But the general explosion did not ensue. Then came the war between Russia and Turkey, and sagacious observers saw in all the conditions and circumstances of that war, the Armageddon so often foretold—so often delayed, but now on the very eve of accomplishment at last. But the general scrimmage, so confidently anticipated, was not to be as yet. Russia and Turkey fought the deadly struggle out to the bitter end, the “nations did but murmur,” they took no part in the deadly and

protracted strife. And now the same thing is being said again—it has become the easy prophetic jargon of the period—and like all jargon, it has a wonderful fascination for a certain class of political thinkers in our time. But the indications do not, in my opinion, point that way—they point, on the contrary, in the very opposite direction. The strong *moral* feeling against unnecessary bloodshed, which is growing up and gathering strength in every part of the civilized world, has already been productive of some very substantial results, and as that feeling gains ground, general wars will become less and less common among the nations of the earth. This is one reason. The other is more technical, but not less weighty and significant, as an argument against the probability of the next European war being a general war. Germany has a very obvious interest in being permitted to *look on* at a struggle between Austria and Russia if that struggle diverts Russia from Germany. And so, taking one consideration with another, I believe that the next European war will *not* be a general war, and that the relative positions of Austria and Russia in the South-east of Europe, will have to be settled before the curtain can rise on a general European war—if it ever rises on that awful spectacle again.

Lord Dufferin has resigned. Why did Lord Dufferin resign? The reason, like the names in large letters on one of Lord Salisbury's "big maps," was perhaps too obvious to be readily detected. Lord Dufferin has resigned because, in colloquial phrase, he has had enough of it, or rather because he will have had enough of it by the time he has completed his fourth year as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. A man in Lord Dufferin's position has certain well defined duties to the State, but he also has duties not less clear and not less imperative towards his family and himself. Lord Dufferin has been compelled to realize what the humblest official in Government service is made to realize as well as the Viceroy, that the *amount* of routine work connected with Indian administration has more than doubled in the last ten years, while there has been no corresponding increase in the number of the officers responsible for it. Lord Dufferin was not, when he came to India, a young man. He is not a particularly robust man, and the climate—even the climate of Simla—did not suit him particularly well, and more than once in the last four years it proved very trying to Lady Dufferin. Under these circumstances Lord Dufferin had a perfect right to resign a year before his time if he considered it necessary or desirable to do so. And then, as regards his administration. Has it been a success? He is the worst of Viceroys—he is the best of Viceroys, according



as we view him through the medium of the *Indian Mirror* or the *Pioneer*. There is only one thing of any importance which Lord Dufferin did—namely, the conquest and annexation of Uupper Burmah, and that was forced on him by a long chain of circumstances and events antecedent to his accession—the consequences of which he had to accept and make the best of. And he did make the best of them: the one important thing he was called on to do—he did well; and when he did nothing, he acted for the best also, and took the wisest course, because the curse of India has been a succession of feeble rulers, bent on doing *something*. Lord Lytton came by his something in the Afghan war, and Lord Ripon came by a very big something for his share in the Ilbert Bill. Instead of dealing himself or attempting to deal with the big questions which came to a head in his time, Lord Dufferin handed them over to Commissions. We have had the Finance Commission; the Public Service Commission; and while the Commissions were taking evidence, Lord Dufferin had his hands free to work at the special task for which he was sent to India—the scheme for the defence of our North-Western frontier. Under his energetic auspices that scheme was pushed forward and elaborated by Sir Frederick Roberts—until we can now say to Russia with some degree of confidence, “Come on;” and as there is little more in this direction to be done—or at least, as there is little more in the way of *design* to be initiated now—Lord Dufferin considers that he has discharged his task, and may fairly and honorably ask to be relieved. And this, also, is the emphatic opinion of every impartial and intelligent man in the community, European or Native. Lord Dufferin’s administration has been condemned by several native critics, and among these censors are to be found critics who are very intelligent men and critics who are very impartial men; but then the impartial men are not intelligent, and the intelligent men are not impartial.

Among the more notable events of the quarter was the sacerdotal Jubilee of Leo XIII. The event, in itself, was not very remarkable, except, as an ecclesiastical display, more varied and cosmopolitan than any other existing church could afford, but the attitude of the Great Powers of Europe towards this celebration was a very significant and remarkable phenomenon, indeed. Fifty years ago England was at daggers drawn with Papacy. More recently Germany was also at daggers drawn with the Papacy—but England and Germany, as represented by the congratulations and presents of their sovereigns, were perhaps the most prominent well-wishers of Leo XIII on the occasion of his Jubilee in 1888.

The French War Office scandals terminated during the quarter under review in the conviction of Mr. Wilson, and to his being sentenced to a term of one year's imprisonment. This will be a terrible blow to the ex-President, for M. Grevy, in addition to being a man of the greatest probity himself, was tenderly attached to his son-in-law.

The condition of the Crown Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany, underwent a sad, and it is to be feared, a hopeless change during the quarter under review. The operation of tracheotomy had to be performed, and although the strength of the patient has kept up in a wonderful manner, it is to be feared that the end cannot be long delayed now. These protracted sufferings, borne with heroic fortitude, have added poignancy to the sympathy to which is felt for the Royal Family of Prussia and for our own beloved Queen in their great affliction.

Sir Henry Sumner Maine, the great jurist and philosopher, died during the quarter under review. What Darwin was to natural science, Sir Henry Maine was, in some important degree, to legal science—a discoverer and expounder of great principles governing the progress of human society during the reign of law.

On the 15th of March, the British force under Colonel Graham crossed the frontier into Sikhim, and after marching for six days over the most difficult mountain paths, and through some of the most sublime scenery in the world, came to the first Tibetan stockade at a place called Jeluksto. The Tibetians made some sort of stand at this place, but after a short fight they were driven from the position in utter rout, losing some eight killed and several wounded. Colonel Graham then advanced to a place named Garnei, which is within two miles of the Lingtu fort, and as we go to press, (23rd March,) news of the attack and capture of the fort is hourly expected.

A meeting was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the afternoon of Thursday, March the 22nd, to vote an address to Lord Dufferin on his approaching retirement. The meeting was, in every respect, a splendid success. The Maharajah of Durbungah presided, and the hall was filled to overflowing with a most enthusiastic audience representing all classes of the community, European and Native. The fact is unquestionable that Lord Dufferin has been a most popular and respected Viceroy, among all those whose opinions or feelings on such a question are in the least degree, worth taking into consideration or account.

G. A. STACK.

*23th March 1888.*



# SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

## Public Instruction, Bengal.

### PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The following table compares for two years the figures of all schools that submit returns to the Department :—

General Summary.

CLASS OF INSTITUTIONS.		1885-86.		1886-87.		Average number of pupils, 1886-87.
		Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.	
<i>Public Institutions.</i>						
University	Colleges ...	26	2,998	27	3,215	119
Secondary	{ High English schools ...	264	57,623	280	62,468	223
	{ Middle ditto	732	52,003	736	52,842	71
	{ Do. vernacular ...	1,141	63,944	1,157	64,478	55
Primary ...	{ Upper pri-inary ...	3,087	113,526	3,149	115,150	36
	{ Lower ditto	47,623	986,160	45,338	965,239	21
Special	... ..	90	5,733	192	6,774	35
Female	... ..	2,336	46,293	2,242	46,428	20
Total Public Institutions		55,299	1,328,280	53,121	1,316,594	
<i>Private Institutions.</i>						
Advanced ; teaching—						
	Arabic or Persian ...	1,302	18,766	1,723	20,750	12
	Sanskrit ... ..	577	5,446	935	9,372	10
Elementary ; teaching a vernacular only or mainly						
	Other schools not conforming to departmental standards ... ..	234	3,689	575	5,492	9
	... ..	121	1,848	988	9,894	10
Total Private Institutions		2,234	29,749	4,221	45,508	
GRAND TOTAL ...		57,533	1,358,029	57,342	1,362,102	

The result is so far satisfactory, that there has been an increase, though to a very limited extent only, in the total number of students, and that it has been considerable under every head of superior education. The gain in these departments has been partly, though not entirely, neutralised by the falling off in primary instruction.

*Revenue Administration, Punjab.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The collections of land revenue and tribute for the year under report and the previous year, are given in the following table under the principal heads of account :—

	1885-86.	1886-87.	Difference.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Fixed land revenue ... ..	1,96,43,843	1,98,01,351	+ 1,57,508
Fluctuating and miscellaneous land revenue ... ..	19,77,187	17,76,501	— 2,00,686
Tribute ... ..	2,79,068	2,79,068	.....
Total ... ..	2,19,00,098	2,18,56,920	— 43,178

The net increase on the Provincial fixed land revenue *demand* was Rs. 3,18,714, and was chiefly due to the incorporation of the new assessments in the Jullundhur and Rāwalpindi Districts with the fixed land revenue roll.

*Lunatic Asylums, Madras Presidency.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS :—

General Results.—On the 31st December 1885 the asylum population was 600, and during the year under review there were 168 admissions, making a total of 768 treated. Of these, 118 were cured, 15 improved under treatment, 33 died, 7 were transferred to England, 4 escaped, 1 was discharged otherwise, and 590 remained under treatment on the 31st December.

The following table gives the rates of recoveries and deaths :—

Results.	Percentage	
	To daily strength.	To admissions.
Cured ... ..	20·05	73·29
Died ... ..	5·60	20·49

The admissions, *viz.*, 168 for the year show a falling off of 11 when compared with the nine months ending 31st December 1885.

*Inland Trade of Calcutta.***G** ENERAL STATISTICS :—

The following statement shows the registered trade of Calcutta with the interior carried by internal routes, as compared with that of the preceding two years :—



SPECIFICATION OF ROUTES.	IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.		TOTAL.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
By country boat ...	1884-85	3,57,37,470	10,12,98,387	81,47,526	4,38,84,996	13,56,03,010
	1885-86	3,26,10,878	10,21,55,835	87,01,502	4,13,12,380	14,27,52,779
	1886-87	3,33,70,734	9,21,38,827	83,80,386	4,17,51,120	12,40,70,777
„ Inland steamer ...	1884-85	42,75,251	4,68,08,192	12,60,387	55,35,638	6,64,94,785
	1885-86	47,78,162	4,74,21,584	12,85,219	60,63,381	6,70,14,592
	1886-87	49,55,515	4,30,10,896	19,41,797	68,97,312	6,14,77,789
„ East Indian Railway	1884-85	2,92,39,780	38,53,09,447	80,89,546	3,73,29,326	53,10,04,709
	1885-86	3,56,24,521	40,08,13,797	81,76,247	4,38,00,708	54,76,46,379
	1886-87	4,19,36,381	37,58,44,597	87,18,343	5,06,54,724	51,44,26,797
„ Eastern Bengal State Rail- way.	1884-85	89,27,176	5,40,78,842	33,90,002	1,23,17,178	10,10,01,798
	1885-86	88,37,631	5,73,61,374	34,54,300	1,22,91,931	10,25,70,395
	1886-87	96,80,439	7,01,53,362	35,64,803	1,32,45,242	11,81,74,694
„ Road ...	1884-85	55,11,896	4,60,03,594	27,32,471	82,44,367	6,18,26,668
	1885-86	59,60,577	3,46,44,859	26,01,753	85,62,330	5,04,68,869
	1886-87	52,59,068	2,84,12,054	24,22,738	76,81,806	4,08,33,209
Total	1884-85	8,36,91,573	63,34,98,462	2,36,19,932	10,73,11,505	89,59,30,970
	1885-86	8,78,11,769	64,23,97,369	2,42,19,021	11,20,30,790	91,04,52,934
	1886-87	9,52,02,137	60,95,59,736	2,50,28,067	12,02,30,204	85,89,83,266
Average of the last three years	...	8,89,01,826	62,84,85,189	2,42,89,007	11,31,90,833	88,84,55,723

2. It will be seen that the total *quantity* of the import and export trade has increased by 7·32 per cent. on the figures for 1885-86, and by 12·03 per cent. in comparison with those for 1884-85. There has been an advance both in imports and exports, the former having risen by 8·42 per cent., and the latter by 3·34 per cent., on the trade of 1885-86. The supply conveyed by country boats during 1886-87 was 34·73 per cent. of the total trade, against 36·88 per cent. in the previous year, and that attracted to the railways was 53·15 per cent. against 50·07 per cent., of which the share of the East Indian Railway was 42·13 per cent. against 39·09 per cent., and of the Eastern Bengal State Railway 11·02 per cent. against 7·56 per cent., while the proportion of the road traffic to the total trade amounted to 6·39 per cent. against 7·64 per cent., and that of the traffic carried by river steamers to 5·73 per cent., against 5·41 per cent. in the previous year.

3. The total *value* of the trade of Calcutta, however, has fallen in spite of the increased quantities of goods carried. This is due to the fall in prices of nearly all important agricultural staples of this report.

### *Forests in Bengal.*

## PRINCIPAL STATISTICS:—

### 1.—AREA OF RESERVED FORESTS.

7. These are shewn below, with the changes that have occurred during the year:—

DIVISION.	Area on 1st April 1886.	Added during 1886-87.	Excluded during 1886-87.	Area on 31st March 1887.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Darjeeling sub-division, Darjeeling division ..	65,533	....	....	65,533
Teesta ditto ditto ..	160,115	.....	53	160,132
Kurseong ditto ditto ..	55,540	2	2	55,540
Julpigori division ..	118,343	....	.....	118,343
Buxa ditto ..	169,462	....	....	169,462
Palamow sub-division, Chota, Nagpore division ..	120,389	6,400	6,400	120,389
Haz ribagh ditto ditto ..	29,767	.....	....	29,767
Singbh om ditto ditto ..	334,600	....	2	334,598
Sunderbun- division ..	1,011,833	....	....	1,011,833
Chittagong ditto ..	86,740	....	....	86,740
Angul sub-division, Orissa division ..	179,200	.....	.....	179,200
Khorda ditto ditto ..	50,531	9,157	.....	59,685
Total ..	3,192,123	15,559	6,457	3,191,229

### *University Education, N-W-P.*

## GENERAL RESULTS:—

The growing demand for a University education, which was noticed in the review of last report, is again illustrated by a considerable increase in the number of students attending the Arts Course at the colleges and collegiate classes of high schools, which in 1885 was 383, and has risen from 438 in 1886 to 489 in the past year, as well as by a substantial increase in the proportion of self-supporting students. The following figures show a corresponding improvement both in the numbers who



presented themselves for examination at each stage of the course and in the percentage of successful candidates:—

		Candidates.		Passes.		Percentage of passes to candidates.	
		1886.	1887.	1886.	1887.	1886.	1887.
M A. ...	...	8	14	2	6	25	43
B. A. ...	...	84	88	51	66	60	75
F A. ...	...	146	158	86	96	59	61
Entrance	...	719	741	238	477	33	64

In the Sanskrit examinations of the Benares College there was a slight falling off in the number of candidates, explained by the severe epidemic of cholera which visited the city at the time when the examinations were held; but there was an increase in the percentage of passes, and the continued popularity of the college is shown by the large number of students on its rolls. The success of the Agra College at the University Examination, and the great increase during the year of the number of students which attended it are equally creditable to the Principal and to the Committee of management.

### *Customs, Bengal.*

#### GENERAL RESULTS—

The following table exhibits the gross and net Customs duty, inclusive of the duty on imported salt, collected in the Bengal Presidency during the past five years:—

	1882-83.	1883-84.	1884 85.	1885-86.	1886-87.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Import duty (excluding duty on salt) ...	14,87,018	15,13,590	13,25,339	13,99,392	15,05,764
Ditto on salt	1,74,72,613	1,73,13,587	1,91,86,114	1,80,35,154	1,94,85,102
Export duty ...	21,28,492	19,92,100	16,24,288	18,10,621	15,80,340
Total gross duty	2,10,88,123	2,08,19,277	2,21,35,741	2,12,45,167	2,25,71,206
Refunds and drawbacks—					
Imports ...	3,20,636	2,10,991	2,43,338	2,29,064	2,48,992
Exports ...	1,16,841	1,20,921	84,539	62,202	40,363
Total ...	4,37,477	3,31,912	3,27,877	2,91,266	2,89,355
Total net duty	2,06,50,646	2,04,87,365	2,18,07,864	2,09,53,901	2,22,81,851

It is satisfactory to observe that the total receipts during the year under review show a marked improvement, the figures being larger than those of any of the preceding four years. Compared with the net receipts of the year 1885-86, the figures for the year under report show an increase of Rs. 13,27,950 or 6·3 per cent., owing principally to larger clearances of salt during the year. In the revenue from import duty on general merchandize, there was also an improvement to the extent of Rs. 1,06,372, or 7·6 per cent., but the duty on exports diminished by more than 2¼ lakhs, or 12·7 per cent.

The increase in the import duty, excluding duty on salt, is due principally to heavy clearances of spirituous liquors immediately before the passing of Act II of 1887, which came into force from the 14th January 1887, and which prescribes the levy of a duty of Rs 5 per gallon London-proof to be increased or reduced according to the strength. In the export duty the falling off is the result of smaller shipments of rice from all the ports in the Presidency.

### *Excise, Bengal.*

## PRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

Excise revenue.

The total excise revenue and charges of the whole of Bengal are shown below—

PERIOD.	Revenue.	Charges.	Net Revenue.	Percentage of charges
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Average of 1881 to 1885-86	98,83,861	2,80,151	96,03,710	2·8
1885-86 ...	95,81,573	3,16,170	92,65,203	3·2
1886-87 ...	1,01,23,130	3,67,173	97,55,957	3·6
Difference of the past two years ...	+5,41,557	+50,803	+4,90,754	+·4

The figures given above have been compiled from returns furnished by the District Officers.

	As returned by district officers.	As returned by Accountant-General.	Difference.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Revenue for 1886-87 ..	1,01,23,130	1,01,24,842	1,712
Charges for 1886-87 ...	3,67,173	.....	.....

The figures representing the revenue have been compared with the figures furnished by the Accountant-General with the results shown in the margin. The difference observable is in course of adjustment. The annual statement of

expenditure has not been furnished yet by the Accountant-General, Bengal.

The revenue of the year under review shows an increase of Rs 2,39,269, or 2·4 per cent. over the average of the preceding five years, and of Rs. 5,41,557, or 3·5 per cent. over the receipts for 1885-86. The receipts are better than the final estimates by Rs. 3,23,130, and the disbursements less by Rs. 24,827. The subjoined statement shows the total collections of the years under comparison under the different heads of exciseable articles with the fluctuations which occurred :—



## Statement showing the Total Revenue of Bengal from excisable articles during the undermentioned years.

ARTICLES.	REVENUE.			IN 1886-87 COMPARED WITH 1885-86.		IN 1886-87 COMPARED WITH 1881 TO 1886.	
	Average of 1881-82 to 1885-86.	In 1885-86.	In 1886-87.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Country spirits	48,39,328	45,10,228	47,91,249	2,81,021	.....	.....	48,079
Rum	1,04,509	77,091	1,08,111	31,020	.....	3,602	.....
Imported wines, &c.	2,05,379	2,18,466	2,09,854	.....	8,612	4,475	.....
Tari	6,64,959	6,58,552	6,89,312	30,760	.....	24,353	.....
Pachwai	1,66,687	1,50,544	1,78,203	27,719	.....	11,576	.....
Charas	3,675	1,646	1,962	316	.....	.. ..	1,713
Sidhi, sabzi or bhang	33,154	34,423	37,927	3,504	.. ..	4,773	.....
Majum	2,370	2,347	2,453	106	.....	83	.....
Madut	87,854	86,702	83,649	.....	3,053	.....	4,205
Chundoo	27,870	30,889	29,746	.....	1,143	1,876	.....
Spirits used for arts	552	320	188	.....	132	.....	364
Ganja	18,98,861	19,46,627	20,75,435	1,28,808	.....	1,76,574	.....
Opium	18,43,707	18,57,968	19,05,751	47,783	.....	62,044	.....
Miscellaneous	4,956	5,770	9,230	3,460	.....	4,274	.....
Total	98,83,861	95,81,573	1,01,23,130	5,54,497	12,940	2,93,630	54,361

*Income Tax, Bengal.***P** RINCIPAL STATISTICS:—

The total number of persons finally assessed during the year, in Bengal, was 105,611, of whom 104,519 paid the tax up to the 30th June 1887. The total demand was Rs. 39,36,958, of which Rs. 38,60,658 were collected (excluding advance payments for 1887-88 and excess collections refunded or liable to refund), leaving an outstanding balance of Rs. 76,300, the greater portion of which is believed to be irrecoverable. The cost of establishment and contingent charges amounted to Rs. 2,49,794, to which Rs. 34,425 on account of the salary and travelling allowance of the late Commissioner of Income Tax being added, the total is raised to Rs. 2,84,219, and the net revenue amounts to Rs. 35,76,439, as shown below:—

SOURCE OF INCOME.	Number of persons assessed.	Demand.	Collection.	Balance.	Charges.	Percentage of charges.	Net revenue.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
Part I.—Salaries, pensions, annuities, and gratuities ..	19,604	8,88,212	8,78,636	9,576			
„ II.—Profits of companies ..	153	3,94,613	3,94,613	.....			
„ III.—Interest on securities ..	6*	41,936	41,936	....			
„ IV.—Other sources ..	85,848	25,45,060	25,02,503	43,157			
	1,05,611	38,70,421	38,17,688	52,733			
Penalties and costs ..	....	66,537	42,970	23,567			
Tota ..	1,05,611	39,36,958	38,60,658	76,300	2,84,219	7'3	35 76 439
Advance payments for 1887-88 ..			1,24,839				
Excess collections refunded or to be refunded ..			42,944				
			40,28,441				

*Report of the Administration of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Penal Settlements of Port Blair and the Nicobars, for the year 1886-87.* Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1887.

SAVE to the specialist, blue books, whether published by authority of the House of Commons, or of some provincial Government in India, are not, as a rule, interesting to read, especially when one has to read a lot of them. We rejoice to have come across an exception to the rule in the Administration Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, for the year 1886-87. An odd, unique little *imperium in imperio* it is that their



Superintendent bears rule in, and yet in its orderings, very much of a reproduction in miniature of larger and more pretentious satrapies on the Indian mainland. The Superintendent of Police, the Officer in command of the troops, the senior Doctor may be held to represent the council, the cyclone that rages every now and again, dissentient public opinion, the aborigenes, the Russian invasion scare. The Andamans can boast of "assessed taxes." There is an army, represented by a detachment of the Scots Fusiliers and a wing of the 7th Madras Infantry ; a Navy rejoicing in three steam barges, 9 lighters, 78 boats, and 32 canoes. The church is disestablished ; but there would seem to be some sort of priestly hierarchy existent, since we are told that 82 convict marriages were solemnized in 1886-87. Mention is also made of Courts of Law and Appeal, a Registration Department, and a Land Revenue Department. By the way, the principal item of increase to land revenue during the year under review arose from the collection and sale of edible birds nests—a Government monopoly, which some people do not scruple to say compares favourably with the Indian Government's opium traffic. There is a Postal Department, the work of which yearly expands, as is the habit with all properly inclined Postal Departments. There is a Medical Department ; in connection with it we are told that the number of patients in the leper ward of the island hospital fell from 46 to 40. One would like to hear somewhat about the treatment pursued.

The Commissariat Department is a prominent feature of island economy at the Andamans. To it self-supporting convicts sold last year 1,090,475 lbs. of Indian corn, 276,631 lbs of paddy, and 3,299 lbs of rice, all which was ground into flour by departmental steam mills for the supply of the settlement. The department appears to be more successful with machinery than with live stock. It makes its pigs so fat that they die of heat apoplexy. The breed of cattle is deteriorating. Sheep-breeding was discontinued eighteen months ago, "as the result was found to be a loss to the State." The goat farm was a failure. Experiments with silo pits have proved more successful. In December 1886 one of these, at Aberdeen, was filled with 117 maunds 71 lbs. Guinea grass, and 6 maunds of sugarcane tops. It was opened on the 29th May 1887, and cattle ate the contents freely. Another silo filled at the same time as this one, with Guinea grass only, was not such a success. No opinion is offered as to whether or not the sugarcane tops of the Aberdeen silo supplied the saving virtue the other one lacked. The Commissariat Department in undertaking these experiments, seems to have intruded somewhat on the province of the Bureau of Agriculture, which was however busy enough about other matters during the year. Its greatest achievement was reclamation of

512 beegahs of mangrove swamp. It also cleared, partly for cultivation partly for grazing purposes, over 1,000 beeghas of jungle land, and it re-cleared of secondary growth, 10,370 beeghas deforested in a previous year. The outturn of Tea from the Government garden was not so large as had been anticipated. It goes without saying that the weather was "the principal cause of this," for red spider has not yet put in an appearance at the Andamans to plead excuses for a bad season. The cost of manufacturing the Tea is set down at annas 5'11½ per pound, and it sold for annas 7'7½ per pound. Cash profits, deducting estimated value of convict labour employed (an average of 122 a day) and other book charges, Rs. 2,632. Otaheiti potatoes and tapioca have been introduced, and thrive. The cacao plantation promises fairly well. Nutmegs feel the drought in the hot weather. 169 lbs. of fibre were manufactured from *musa textilis*. Cocoanut trees have been successfully introduced. The Agricultural Department keeps three packs of dogs of miscellaneous breeds to kill wild pigs. The sale of the pigs covers the cost of the dogs keep; every thing is self-supporting at the Andamans.

The officers of the Andamans Forest Department have much to be thankful for. There are no breaches of forest law, because convicts and ticket-of-leave men alike are too much under surveillance to be able to commit any. There are no forest fires. The forest undergrowth is so dense, that cattle cannot pass through it; and so there is no bother about grazing or fencing. On the subjects of natural reproduction, Mr. P. J. Carter, Deputy Conservator of Forests, writes:—

All efforts to encourage natural reproduction would naturally be directed towards padouk, the most valuable species in the forest. Little experience has as yet been gained, and what is known offers little encouragement. The padouk trees in the forest are of large size and great age, so that not less than one-half are hollow and useless. There is no gradation of age classes so far as padouk is concerned. The existing trees are probably 300 years old and, for the past three centuries, no natural reproductions of padouk has taken place. Other species have taken possession of the blanks which have been caused by fallen trees. These species must have been for the greater part shade enduring trees, previously existing in undergrowth, and to a less extent, seedlings of species with very rapid growth, which were able to get their crowns through the advance growth before it formed a canopy. Only in this way can the prevalence of such shade-avoiding trees as Bomba and Payanelia be accounted for. The shade enduring advance growth has in many cases been Droopyros and *Murraya exotica*. The system of selecting felling without special operations to encourage a desired species, must result in a forest consisting of trees capable of enduring dense shade interspersed with trees (not necessarily shade-enduring) of very rapid growth. To neither of these classes does padouk belong. It cannot endure a dense shade, or it would be found among the undergrowth in the forest. The shade given by it is not dense, for in the young plantation of padouk, although its canopy is complete, the ground is covered with a growth of low grass. It is true tha



this grass is of a shade enduring kind, but it is entirely absent from the adjacent plantation in which teak is the principal species. Nor is padouk of rapid growth when very young. When five years old it is scarcely more than half the height of a teak tree of the same age, although it is very probable that at the age of ten years and afterwards, its growth would rival that of teak. The natural reproduction of padouk, therefore must entail a considerable expenditure in clearing the ground to enable the seedlings to establish themselves, and in weeding out other species until the young padouk is out of danger, probably, until the age of ten years.

Padouk is exported to Calcutta and London in the form of telegraph posts, and planks, and squares; Mowa and Gangou wood does for sleepers; Gurjan timber is converted into tea boxes. Bamboos, canes, rattans, thatch, firewood, find a local market. The Forest Department realized a profit last year of Rs. 5,579-14-2. The crumpled rose leaf in the Andamans Forest Officer's lot is the mortality amongst his elephants. The climate does not agree with them, and they either die off, or get a disease in the feet which quite disables them from work. And as the outturn of timber is entirely dependent on the number of elephants available for dragging it through the dense forest undergrowth, a portable tramway is Mr. Carter's suggestion for a way out of this difficulty.

Every thing is arranged with such exquisite precision at the Andamans, that even the local Public Works Department does not spend more money than it bargained for. Its budget allotment last year was Rs. 38,200, and when it had spent 38,199, it pulled up short, leaving one rupee as a margin for possible errors of account: or, possibly, the unspent rupee was a bad one which the Treasury officials wanted to palm off on a too 'cute' Engineer. In any case the result is most admirable, and worthy of imitation in India. Saw mills are set down as the major works undertaken by this department; the minor works include construction of a tea factory, and two bridges on masonry piers. A lot of bunds were also made, and the Viper Jail was replastered. Attached to the Public Works Department is a convict "Artificer Corps" of 577 persons—bricklayers, carpenters, cobblers, engine drivers, painters, tinkers, tanners, tile makers, polishers—and professors of a dozen more industrial occupations. The workmanship in the district workshops is said to be improving every year.

From technical education we turn to education proper, and find it written, that a trifling increase of expenditure upon junior Masters and Monitors has given a great impetus to local education. Convict masters are being gradually abolished. The percentage of attendance at the schools has been high.

With a view to a better and more intimate acquaintance with the aborigines of the little Andaman, Mr. Portman spent some

time amongst them, and gives an interesting account of his different visits. Here is an extract from his Report :—

“ From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Onges, these people are sub-divided into tribes, who adhere more or less to their own country, and who appear to quarrel and fight among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jarawa tribes.

“ The people appear healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the Great Andaman.

“ Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of our people, the principal differences I have noticed being the following :—

“ The large circular huts built by them ; the raised charpoys on which they sleep ; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat ; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern ; the difference in their ornaments, and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasseled belts amongst them ; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman ; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft.

“ The people are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in the rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long ; the women do not keep their heads clean shaved.

“ Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, as that article of diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented, of course, by whatever else they can get.

“ I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting the Car-Nicobar Island. How, indeed, having regard to the apparent difficulties of such a journey, the legend could have been seriously entertained by any person with common sense. I cannot imagine.

“ It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages ; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails.

“ The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or striking of a sounding board.

“ Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese, being apparently an imitation of the act of coition.

“ They have no religion of any kind, and I have learnt nothing of their traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than our people.

“ In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being, if anything, of a milder disposition than our people, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

“ The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone, with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coasts.



In one place, on the point south of Daogule Bay, I noticed an out-crop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

"The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but that the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter.

"The Onges are very fond of turtle, which they are unable to get with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon, and turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

"In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages of small vessels :—Bumila Creek ; Eketi Bay, just inside the north end of Nachuge Point, Geejege, opposite Ingoie, about half a mile from shore ; Hut Bay ; Daogule Bay and Obate. Landing is difficult in most places, and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

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*Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1886-87.* Madras: Printed by R. Hill, at the Government Press. 1887.

THE Madras Administration Report for 1886-87 bids adieu to Sir M. E. Grant Duff's governorship, and takes notes of Lord Connemara's first year of office. Sir Grant Duff thinks the most important events of his provincial reign were the new decentralization scheme, settlement of boundary disputes between Cochin and Travancore, relief of the police from duties in direct connection with the Salt and Marine Departments, appointment of an Archæological Surveyor, publication of the new Madras Manual of Administration, patronage of science, technical education, and female education, continuation of the Madras Harbour Works, publication of facts connected with the Madras Observatory, establishment of a Caste and Gosha Hospital, extension of the jurisdiction of village Munsiffs and reorganization of the Registration Department. We doubt much whether the late Governor of Madras did as much for technical education and female education as he supposes he did. Work on the Madras Harbour Works *had* to be resumed, like the "frog who *would* a wooing go, whether his mother would let him or no." His other claims to distinction are characteristically pettyfogging and vainglorious, on the part of an Imperial satrap. He will be remembered in Madras rather because of the numerous scandals that disgraced his administration. The man has a desperately parochial mind ; was cut out for a Poor Law Guardian, or Bumbledom of some sort, and has altogether missed his vocation in life.

The season of 1886-87 was on the whole favourable to agricultural operations. The average rainfall for the Presidency amounted to 46.97 inches, which is about a normal average.

There was an increase of 394,000 acres to the area under cultivation. Food grains were cheaper than in the two previous years. The fall in prices was common to all districts, and was due to the favourable character of the season, and not to any adventitious causes. The wages of skilled artisans—masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c.—varied from Rs. 11 to Rs. 15 in fifteen districts, and from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in six others. The total value of the sea-borne trade of the Presidency in the official year 1886-87, excluding treasure and transactions on account of Government, amounted to 23 crores and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs of rupees against 21 crores and  $35\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs in the preceding year—78 lakhs of increase under exports, and 89 lakhs under imports. The total value of the external trade, *i.e.*, the trade with foreign countries, with Indian ports not British, and with British ports in other presidencies, amounted to over 20 crores and 44 lakhs: an advance of 1 crore and 92 lakhs as compared with 1885-86; exports increased by over 91 lakhs, imports by over 101 lakhs. The increase was mainly in the trade with the United Kingdom. The more important exports of Indian articles—those of which the annual value exceeded 50 lakhs of rupees—were hides and skins, coffee, raw cotton, seeds, spices, indigo, grain pulse, and sugar. There was an increase of exports of all these staples except indigo, the largest increases being that of raw cotton, coffee and spices. The largest import items were cotton piece-goods, twist, and yarn. The total value of the trade with foreign countries amounted to nearly 14 crores and 45 lakhs, or 15·46 in advance of 1885-86. The total value of the coasting trade, chiefly with Bombay and Bengal, amounted to nearly 6 crores.

No increase was made to the length of navigable canals open for traffic; no extensions were made to the Madras and South Indian Railways. The following new lines are in course of construction:—The Bellary—Kistna State Railway from Guntakal junction to Bezvada; the Cuddapah-Nellore State Railway from Tirupati to Nellore; the Calicut extension of the Madras Railway; the branch from Pálghat station to Pálghat town, and a line from Bezvada to the Nizam's frontier. The Bellary branch of the Madras Railway was sold on 1st February 1887 to the Southern Mahratta Company for Rs. 30,00,000.

The License Tax was displaced on the 1st April 1886 by the Income Tax Act, which realized Rs. 13,83,000; collections under the License Tax Act amounted only to Rs. 4,34,000. A sum of Rs. 83,000 was refunded to the Madras and South Indian Railway Companies on the Government of India ruling that those Companies are exempted from assessment on their net profits when not in excess of the guaranteed interest. The



incidence of the Income Tax amounted to 8 pies per head of population. The average incidence of taxation, under all heads, rose from Rs. 2-7-7 in 1885-86, to Rs. 2-7-10 per head of population.

There was a decrease of expenditure to the amount of Rs. 33,000 due to smaller payments under the grant-in-aid system, the transfer of six High Schools to Municipalities and the closing of another one. Financial pressure is held to have rendered these drastic remedies necessary. The year closed with 1,788 private schools attended by 30,853 pupils, against 1,397 schools and 22,859 pupils in 1885-86. In six of these private schools instruction of an advanced kind was given in Arabic or Persian, and in 29 of them similar instruction was given in Sanskrit. 34 schools with 2,768 pupils were ordinary Anglo-Vernacular schools, not conforming to departmental regulations. The remaining 1,719 schools, with 27,537 pupils were of the primary standard, and consisted mainly of indigenous schools qualifying themselves for recognition and aid under the results system. The number of pupils under training for masters fell from 1,131 to 1,104. In the Higher Examination for women, 15 passed out of 20 examined; in the Middle School Examination, 54 out of 82; in the Special Upper Primary Examination, 114 out of 136; in the School Management Examination, only 28 out of 93: that is a fact worth a little consideration. Sixteen Industrial Schools, with 692 pupils, were at work at the close of the year, and making good progress. Of the male and female population of school-going age, 18·5 and 2·8 per cent., respectively, were under instruction, against 17·3 and 2·5 per cent. in 1885-86. Of the pupils in public and private schools, 6,966 were Europeans and Eurasians, 38,985 Native Christians, 43,715 Mahomedans, 71,667 Brahmans; and the rest non-Brahman Hindus and others. About 1 per cent. belonged to the richer classes, 19 per cent. to the middle classes, and 80 per cent. to the poor classes. The number of female students in the Medical College, Madras, rose from 14 to 20, and has, we are told, further risen since the close of the year under review. Lady Dufferin's scheme for the Medical education of women, is bearing good fruit.

During 1886-87, 10 examinations in connection with the Uncovenanted Civil Service were held. One of them was the new Higher Examination in Science, Arts and Industries. The examinations were (1) the Special Tests, including (2) the Police Test. For the former, 3,264 candidates appeared, and 939, or 29 per cent. passed. Last year 1,035 or 33 per cent. passed out of 3,097 examined. For the Police Test, 53 appeared and only 4 passed—last year 6 out of 51 passed. 42 appeared for (3) the examination to the admission of the grade of "Civil

Medical Pupil," and 56 for (4) the grade of "Military Medical Pupil," as against 88 and 23, respectively, last year. (5) For the Higher Examination in Science, Arts and Industries, 141 appeared and 73 passed. Drawing of various kinds and pure mathematics were the subjects mostly taken up. (6) For the Salt Tests, 642 candidates appeared and 352 passed, against 570 and 294, respectively, in 1885-86. (7) The Middle School examination was attended by 7,724 male and 458 female candidates, against 7,564 male and 324 female candidates in the previous year. Of those examined, 3,716 males and 281 females were successful. The percentage of passes, which was 63.5 in 1884-85 and 30.5 in 1885-86, was 54.5 in the year under review. In the Middle School examination, 194 candidates appeared in Art and Industrial subjects, and the number of passes was satisfactory. (8) For the Special Upper Primary examination, 1,536 males and 739 females registered their names, of whom 858 and 460, respectively, passed. The results as compared with the previous year were very satisfactory, 56 per cent. of the male and 62 per cent. of the female candidates having passed against 45 and 43 per cent., respectively, in 1885-86. (9) For the Higher Examination of Women, 184 candidates registered their names and 142 passed. The number registered was fewer than in 1885-86, but 77 per cent. passed against 56 per cent. in the previous year and 28 per cent. in 1884-85. (10) For the examination of matriculates in handwriting, 1,493 candidates appeared and 1,301 passed, against 1,208 and 456 in 1885-86. The receipts for the year in connection with these examinations were Rs. 65,642, and the charges Rs. 64,245. Last year the receipts were Rs. 62,482 and the charges Rs. 52,123.

The section of the Administration Report dealing with Archæology informs us that Mr. Rea, First Assistant, Archæological Survey, was engaged in the completion of the survey of several Chálukyan temples in the Belary district. The staff thereafter proceeded to head-quarters at Madras, and was engaged in inking drawings. In September, the pre-historic remains lately discovered at Pallávaram were inspected. An inscribed stone and some small articles of pottery found there, were removed to the museum, and a temple with a large number of inscriptions was noted. In November, Dr. E. Hultzsch took up his duties as Epigraphist of this Presidency. In December, the seven pagodas were visited and a buried cave temple discovered. The survey then proceeded to North Arcot and surveyed the large temple at Vellore and places of importance in the neighbourhood. Some small ancient articles were discovered buried in the Vellore temple. The large temple at Virinjipuram, the beautifully carved blackstone temples at



Melpadi, the Jaina rock sculptures at Vallimalai, the interesting structure at Sholinghur, and the curious cave at Mahendravadi were the chief objects of interest surveyed in the North Arcot District.

The Chemical Examiner to Government had to examine into 998 cases. 163 of them were medico-legal cases of suspected human poisoning, and of blood and seminal stains; 114 related to cattle poisoning. Poison was detected in 74 of the cases in which men and women were concerned, and in 68.4 of the cattle cases. The principal inorganic poisons used were arsenious oxide, mercuric salt, orpiment, and glass powder; the vegetable poisons nux vomica, opium, datura, calotropis gigantea, lebedicropsis orbicularis, ganja, and assafoetida.

The Madras Administration Report closes with the following paragraph:—

The number of Muhammadans in superior Government service on the 1st April 1886 was 6,231 out of a total of 35,599 employed, but of these 5,915 hold appointments of less than Rs. 250 per annum. The number in the police, the department in which they are chiefly employed, has fallen from 5,433 to 5,365. Two of the 8 Statutory Civilians are Muhammadans.

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*Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, April 1882—November 1887, Allahabad: Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1887.*

THE fitness of things is a chameleon-like abstraction, the variable colours of which a beholder determines for himself. For specification they are mainly dependent on his point of view at the time; and so it happens that when a Magistrate-Collector or a District Judge retires from the service, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province he has served in, rigourously forbids reception, on his part, of complimentary farewell addresses from the people he has ruled over, and made his rule acceptable to. A year or two afterwards, when it is that Lieutenant-Governor's turn to retire, he, dying swan-like, sings his own requiem, writes a complimentary address to himself, and calls it a review of his term of administration. We noticed Sir Rivers Thompson's not long ago. Now we have to notice Sir Alfred Lyall's. It goes without saying that it is intended for the information of Sir Alfred's successor. That is the established formula, the author of which finds it convenient for the time to ignore the multifarious Reports and Resolutions he leaves behind him, and which are a sufficiently complete record of his reign and acts.

From his preface we gather that the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh deems the questions and transactions "belonging to" his term of office, of more than ordinary public interest. Firstly because of a general scheme of Lokil sluff introduced under his auspices, lastly

because in 1886 re-imposition of an Income Tax was added to the business of Revenue officers, intermediately because of more claims to honour than we can find space to enumerate here. With regard to the claim first mentioned, Sir Alfred Lyall suggests, that if the result of elections has generally been to give the principal towns strong, capable, and fairly representative boards, the fact that many of the members were elected without contest is immaterial. There is great inherent virtue in an "if" sometimes, and covering a multitude of supinenesses is no great tax on its energies. In this instance the "if" should be read in connection with a subsequent sentence, worded thus:—

"The appointment of the Chairman was left in every case by the Boards in the hands of the Government, and in all districts the Magistrate became Chairman." About Income Tax assessments we are told that assessees with under Rs. 750 per annum monopolized 54 per cent. of the tax gatherers' list of victims, and that "the results of the first year of the Act may be regarded generally as sufficient." A complacently oracular deliverance.

Some theorists are very fond of abusing Lord Cornwallis' Perpetual Settlement and its workings in Bengal and Behar. They would do well to consider what the experience of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces leads him to say about the workings of a decennial settlement. Here is the criticism:—

The operations were protracted on an average over a period of more than 10 years in each district, and during the whole of their currency and for some years previous to their inception, the industry of the agricultural population was depressed, improvements discouraged, and extensions of cultivation thrown back by the uncertainty in regard to the method of valuation, and the degree to which the increased value of the land would be made the subject of increased taxation. It was necessary to employ large temporary establishments of subordinate officials who were probably as burdensome to the people among whom they were quartered as they were costly to the State. The absence of any trustworthy record of the rents which were actually paid to the landlord, and a natural doubt as to whether the letting-value was the true value of the land in these Provinces, had compelled the assessing officers to deduce their calculations from abstract or conjectural data, which were very frequently mistaken in their application to single properties, and sometimes, though not so often, led to erroneous estimates of the revenue-paying capacities of considerable tracts of country. The assessments, though not severe taken generally, were unequal, and while some properties were much too lightly rated, in others the pressure became ruinous when bad seasons supervened.

Sir Alfred Lyall interested himself in "the education of Patwáris and their heirs." Charge of their mental development was by him removed from the charge of supervisor Kanúngos, and the Patwáris (and their heirs or assigns, we suppose) were sent to special schools, to be instructed in surveying, mensuration, arithmetic, &c.—in every thing in fact that they had already got at their fingers ends, by dint of serviceable rule of thumb. No mention is made of attempt to teach them to be honest. Perhaps Sir Alfred has his doubts as to the possibility of inducing



Ethiopians to change their skin "on the basis of a minimum pay of Rs. 7 per mensem," which is the prize offered to Patwáris after a successful school course. To enable the North-West Provinces Patwári to create rights and titles in land at his discretion, Sir Alfred Lyall ordained that a register thereof, to be known as "the Pargana Book" should be kept by him at every tahsil. District officers who happen to pass by a tahsil when on tour, are required to initial these modern Domesday books—so as to give colour to their admission as evidence in rent suits, &c., we presume.

During the period under review although the number of criminal cases brought to trial increased, that development is regarded by Sir Alfred Lyall as almost matter for congratulation, inasmuch as it affords testimony to the progress of sanitary reform, which, it would appear, the people could not be brought to love without being criminally prosecuted for disregard of its ordinances. We are glad to find the services of the unpaid Magistracy handsomely recognized. The assistance rendered by it to the administration is characterized as very considerable, and the quality of the work done is admitted to be generally good. Civil litigation is said not to have materially increased. Relatively to population the number of civil suits instituted in Oudh is much larger than in the North-West Provinces. About one-third of the Oudh suits are for sums less than ten rupees.

An enquiry into the numbers and condition of indigenous schools in the united provinces led to their classification as follows :—

- (1) Sanskrit *pátshálas*.
- (2) Arabic schools where the Kurán is learnt by rote.
- (3) *Maktabas*, for teaching the rudiments of Persian.
- (4) Kaithi schools in which elements of arithmetic are taught for the purposes of the bazar.

All these schools cater for special classes of the population, and owe their existence to the fact that they supply special educational requirements, which cannot be combined with the general form of instruction necessarily adopted in public schools. We quite agree with Sir Alfred Lyall that "to attempt to bring them under the inspection of the officers of the (Educational) Department would affect their essential distinctive character, and might interfere with their support by the classes on whom they depend for pupils. There are nearly 80,000 such pupils, some 28,000 of them Mahomedans. Of the 57 aided primary schools in the Provinces, nearly all are branches of missionary establishments; and the same code which has received the cordial approval of the Board of Education of the American Missionary Society, has already been extended to most of them. In all the extensions that have been given to secondary

education, regard has been had to the principle that Government aid should be restricted to those cases where there was distinct evidence of a local demand and local co-operation. That is well. It is bad policy from every point of view to make education so cheap that the *profanum vulgus* comes to think it not worth having. With regard to technical education Sir Alfred Lyall says that :—

No scheme could be sure of success unless it were founded on practical experience and exact knowledge of the present state and needs of the principal crafts and industries in these Provinces. This information can only be supplied by those who are directly interested in, or who have studied the subject, and steps are being taken to obtain it.

We are glad to find Sir Alfred Lyall writing hopefully of the steady progress of girls' schools in the North-West. The most prominent difficulties in the way of the extension of female education there are, he thinks, the want of qualified native women for employment as teachers, and the want of trained women as Inspectors. The advantage of employing ladies as Inspectors has received illustration at Lucknow, where the female schools under Miss D 'Abreu " are in a very flourishing condition and promise to supply, to some extent, the demand for trained female teachers."

Sir Alfred Lyall is justly proud of the great expansion of the provincial railway system during his term of office. As to that matter we cannot do better than quote what he has to say about it in the Review before us :—

In no branch of its public works have the Provinces made such rapid progress during the last five and-a-half years as in railways ; and it is probable that in no other part of India has the system of railway communication been pushed on so fast or so widely. The Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway Company have opened an extension of their line 135 miles long from Moradabad to Saháranpur, with a branch to Hardwár, and have just completed their great bridge over the Ganges at Benares ; thus providing a direct alternative route from Calcutta to the Panjáb *viâ* Benares, Lucknow, and Saháranpur, as well as a most useful provincial traffic route. The Bengal and North-West Railway Company have constructed 284 miles of line in the North-Western Provinces, by which the whole of the very fertile tracts of country lying North-East of the Gogra have been placed in communication with the great markets and ports of India. Including the branch from Jhánsi *viâ* Banda to Mánikpur on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the Indian Midland Railway Company are constructing within these Provinces 400 miles of line, of which the section from Cawnpore to Jhánsi, 140 miles, including the great bridge over the Jumna at Kálpi, was commenced and practically finished by this Government before being handed over to the Company in March 1887. By means of this line, when finished, the districts of Bundelkhand, which are peculiarly liable to suffer from famine, will be opened out and protected ; and these inland Provinces will soon have a third first class line of outlet to Bombay. Railway communication into Jhansi will, it is expected, be completed before December 1887.

The Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway Company have opened a line 55 miles long, connecting Bareilly with the hills below Naini Tal,



Simultaneously with the development of the lines under railway companies there has been an extension of the lines constructed from provincial revenues. In addition to the work executed between Cawnpore and Jhānsi the Cawnpore-Achneyra Railway has been completed at a cost of Rs. 60 lakhs by the construction of 100 miles of new line, and a bridge over the Jumna at Muttra; a railway has been constructed connecting Pilibhīt with Bareilly and the railway systems of India, at a cost of 17 lakhs; and 36 lakhs have been spent on the Lucknow-Sitapur-Seramau Railway—a line running from Lucknow northwards, 120 miles long, through the districts and productive forests of the Sitapur Division. It has at present not been found possible, for financial reasons, to construct this line beyond Gola Gokarnath, a place on the borders of the Kheri forests, 22 miles short of the terminal station at Seramau in the Shāh-jahānpur district. It is clear that the full value of the lines to Pilibhīt and Seramau cannot be obtained so long as they are merely independent branch feeders, and the construction of a connecting link between the two terminals must eventually follow. Complete surveys and estimates have been prepared for the whole length from Pilibhīt to Seramau, but the negotiations which have been entered into for its construction by private agency require the sanction of the Supreme Government.

The total length of all classes of railways under construction in the Province during the past five and-a-half years has been some 1,140 miles, of which 760 miles have been opened for traffic. By the end of the year 1887, an additional 150 miles will be completed, and there will then be 2,200 miles of open line in the North-Western Provinces. On the completion of the Indian Midland system this will be raised to 2,470 miles, a mileage greater than that of any other Province in India; and no village except in the Himālayas and hill tracts south of the Mirzapur district, will be more than 40 miles from a railway station.

Until 1885 Sir Alfred Lyall had an Archæological Department attached to his Government. Under its care the fully matured scheme of operations, planned by Sir John Strachey for the conservation of ancient buildings, was worked out and brought to completion; the Taj, Fatehpur-Sikri, and the Agra Fort being the most noticeable monuments of antiquity dealt with, and the principle of conservation rather than so-called restoration being carefully adhered to throughout the entire work. It cost from beginning to end Rs. 9,04,000.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Science of Jurisprudence, chiefly intended for Indian students.*  
By W. H. Rattigan, Barrister-at-Law, &c., Lahore: "the Civil and Military Gazette" Press, 1888.

**M**R. W. H. RATTIGAN, Barrister-at-Law, Doctor of Laws of the University of Göttingen, and Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, has written a book on "The Science of Jurisprudence," to which this motto is prefixed: *Indocti discante, et ament meminisse periti.*

This book has been written to supply a want—a work on jurisprudence adapted to the comprehension of Indian Law students. Austin, it appears, soars above that cloud-land of comprehension. Markby's *Elements of Law* is an admirable book vitiated by the writer's "special point of view." Holland's *Elements of Jurisprudence* is too concise. So Mr. Rattigan comes to the rescue of stranded dubitating Indian law students, and disclaims any intention of posing before his readers as an original writer. Humbly he follows after the Emperor Justinian "the easier path by which the student, without great labour and without any distrust of his own powers, may be led to the study of Law."

The following extract will give a fair idea of the book's *motif*, and Mr. Rattigan's manner of treating his subject.

In the course of a debate on the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Bill, it was observed by the then Law Member of the Governor-General of India's Council (now Lord Hobhouse) that "the only way he knew of learning principles of Jurisprudence, is to look at and see what is embodied in actual Laws." \* According to this method a student would first have to learn the whole body of any given system of Positive Law before he could understand the principles of Law. But surely this would be to begin learning the elements of a science after you had completely mastered it, and to be open, therefore, to the serious objection of beginning at the wrong end. The notion underlying the proposed method, if such a course of acquiring a knowledge of principles can be called a method, is the false and exploded one of regarding Law as a purely empirical branch of knowledge. This notion may, indeed, claim the credit of hoary antiquity in support of it, for in the days of Cicero the extent of legal capacity required from a Jurisconsult was a mere empirical knowledge of the Law current amongst private citizens, or the skill requisite in giving

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\* Vol. XV, Proceedings of G. G. of India, p. 126.

opinions, bringing actions, and guiding one's clients aright.\* But this notion is subversive of all scientific study of Law, and could hardly be seriously asserted at the present day, except to gain a point in the course of a lengthy debate. The credit of elevating Jurisprudence upon a loftier pedestal, and of showing that it is capable of being learnt as a science, which it truly is, is due to a small but distinguished roll of Roman Jurists, among whom the name of Ulpian deserves special mention, who claimed to be "the Priests of Justice, engaged in the pursuit of a philosophy that is truly such, and no counterfeit"† By the efforts of these cultivated intellects was evolved the notion of a legal science, which had an existence independent of the actual institutions of a particular country. The error in fact of saying in the nineteenth century that the way of learning the principles of Jurisprudence is to look at and see what is embodied in actual law, is that the statement ignores results which have already been obtained. It is no doubt quite true, as was observed by the Roman Jurist Paulus, "that the law is not to be deduced from the rule, but the rule from the law (*non ut ex regula jus sumatur, sed ex jure. quod est regula fiat*).‡" But it must be remembered that it is only when science steps in, and reduces the pre-existing Law from a chaotic mass of undigested Customs and Usages into something like a system, that it is possible to extract fixed rules from it. And once this stage has been reached, it is only by comprehending these rules and learning how to apply them to future cases, that a true knowledge of the existing Law can be obtained. The labors of other workers have thus at this stage produced results which each student would otherwise have had to work out for himself. But having these results at hand he naturally turns to them in the first instance, and the scientific arrangement and classification of these results is called the *Science of Law* or *Jurisprudence*.

Mr. Rattigan's commentary on Reprisals may prove serviceable to some of our readers. Here it is:—

Reprisals (from the Latin *reprehendere* not *reprimere*) are measures of Self-help directed to bring home to an offending State a consciousness of some specific wrong doing, and by this means to compel it to recognise the violated right of another State, and to give satisfaction for the wrong committed. It may consist in the seizure and confiscation of property belonging to the offending State or its subjects, but preferably the former; the suspension of commercial intercourse with it; the expulsion of its subjects; or lastly, the deprivation of their personal liberty. But modern usage amongst civilized nations is not in favour of directing Reprisals against the property or persons of innocent subjects of an offending State, and measures of this kind can only be excused on the ground of extreme necessity, or as justified by the special circumstances of the particular case, as where a State has seized and detained the Envoy of another State charged with a mission to it.‡ Reprisals are thus merely a means of putting pressure, by something short of War, upon a wrong-doing State, from which redress cannot be obtained by purely amicable means. Reprisal differs from Retorsion in this, that the essence of the former consists in the hostile seizure of the property or subjects of another nation by way of security until it should have listened to the just reclamation of the offending party, while Retorsion includes all measures which do an injury to another, similar and equivalent to that which we have experienced from him.§

\* *De Orat.* I, 48.

† *Dig.* i, I, I, I,

‡ Bluntschli, Sections 500 and 501, pages 281, 282; Hall's *International Law*, page 335; Woolsey, page 192.

§ Woolsey, page 193.



*Records of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. XX, part 4.*

DR. OLDHAM is wise in his generation, and as Deputy Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, devotes his energies to fact finding rather than invention of casual theories. As an incidental outcome of this practical regard for usefulness, we have now before us, in part 4, Vol. XX., of the Records of the Geological Survey of India, an instructive Note of his on Himalayan Geology to which we must refer those interested in the subject. Any attempt of ours to condense an already condensed argument must needs prove delusive. We will, however, by way of whet give an extract about the volcanic beds, and lower Chakrata quartzites of the Bangál and Naira Valleys, about which Dr. Oldham writes:—"The most important fact to be noticed is, that part at least of the volcanic beds is of sub-aërial origin. In proof of this statement I appeal to a specimen preserved in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta, where portions of two distinct lava flows are seen to include between them a string of well rounded, water worn pebbles. Were these only of lava, it would not indicate more than an isolated volcanic island, which need not have been raised more than enough to bring its summit within reach of the breakers, but the majority of the pebbles are of vein quartz, which must have been derived from some land surface of non-volcanic rocks." *Beati possidentes.*

Mr. Middlemiss follows Dr. Oldham with a paper on Crystalline and Metamorphic rocks of the lower Himalaya, in the Garhwal and Kumaun ranges. He says:—"I have found that gneiss and granite disintegrate into felspathic sand, in which the felspar is undecomposed at elevations of 14,000 feet and over in Ladak. —I have never seen a material which could consolidate into arkose at the lower elevations, up to 10,000 feet of the outer Himalayas."

Baboo Pramatha Nath Bose, F. G. S., contributes a Note on the Iron Industry of the Western portion of the District of Raipur. He writes:—"The number of places where iron ores and smelting furnaces exist is much larger than that given in the statistical tables." What, then, is the use of these so-called statistics? Are they deliberately concocted to the mislead honestly intentioned enquirers? Ought they not to be denounced and suppressed? Baboo Pramatha Nath Bose, writes:—"In Appendix III. G. (Mines and Quarries) of the last Number of the Central Provinces Administration Report (1885-86) half a dozen iron ore localities are mentioned as occurring in the district of Raipur, *viz.*, Kondkasar, Bhindo, Lahora, Dalli, Sambarsingha, and Magarkund. Two years later," the Baboo plaintively remarks, "we find Lahora separated from Bhindo, and joined on to Dalli as Lahora-Dalli; it was subsequently again disjoined

from Dalli, and transformed into Lahora. But I know of no place of that name in the Raipur District where iron ores occur." Muddles in spelling, and ulterior consequences therefrom, may be developed without aid from Hunterian systems, it would appear. Apropos of iron workings at Dalli it is written :—

Flux is never used in the furnaces which I saw at work. The Raipur (Lower Vindhyan?) limestone is usually not far off from the iron-ore localities. As regards Dalli, the nearest outcrop of it is at a distance of 20 miles. One specimen of the stone, analysed by Mr. Hiralal, of the Geological Survey, gave the following result :—

Carbonate of lime	...	...	...	...	83.50
" " magnesia	...	...	...	...	2.00
Oxide of iron and alumina	...	...	...	...	0.90
Insolubles	...	...	...	...	13.60
					<hr/>
					100.0

*A Journey through Upper India.* By Purna Chandra Basu, M.A. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., Ld., 4, Dalhousie Square, 1887.

THIS little work is the production of an intelligent observer and a very pleasant and agreeable writer. The principal places visited by our author were Gya, Benares, Agra, Lucknow and Delhi; his impressions of these ancient cities, their buildings and institutions, although very brief and general, is still vivid and entertaining, and on the whole very accurate as well. Our author's description of the Taj is worth quoting as a fair specimen of his style :—

All these structures, however, have been completely cast into the shade by the *Taj Mahal*. Although the Taj has lost much of its ancient grandeur, it still retains such magnificence as would beggar the most graphic description. The whole edifice is of the finest marble, surrounded by a beautifully laid garden, and one fancies himself transported into some fairy-land on setting foot within its precincts. The central gateway, opening into the garden, is of magnificent proportions, and it takes a long time for the visitor to take in all its exquisite details. In it there are several rooms of large dimensions in which the gentleman in charge of the public buildings at Agra has found ample quarters with his numerous family. He was, fortunately for us, present at the time we visited the place, and received us very kindly. We were conducted to his office-room, which was very comfortably fitted up. He was perfectly justified in describing his surroundings as a terrestrial paradise. The building constituting the gateway is one of several stories, and the staircases leading up from one floor to another are so intricate and so many in number, that they form a perfect labyrinth, from which no one can find his way out without the help of a guide. The roof of this gate is the place from which the best view of the Taj is to be had, as from there one can take in at a glance the whole garden with the Taj rising at the other end of it in stately majesty, while from any other point, one can have only a partial view of the Taj or the garden. The garden lying between the gate and the Taj is a very splendid one, and the row of fountains running along the entire path-way by which the Taj is approached, considerably adds to its gran-



deur. After a stroll in the garden we saw the out-offices of the Taj, in one of which is a large well, or *baoli* as it is called, with subterranean rooms and galleries surrounding it. There are two marble mosques, one on each side of the Taj, a marble terrace connecting the two, which constitutes the platform on which the Taj rests. A flight of steps leads down into a dark passage and a set of rooms, in which, it is said, the young princes used to play "hide and seek." We next proceeded to the mausoleum proper, if I might so call it. The upper floor has several rooms arranged in a circle round the central one, in which there are two cenotaphs with exquisite mosaic inscriptions and decorations, enclosed in a screen of marble lattice-work of intricate and beautiful patterns. The floor and the walls all round bear inscriptions and exquisite artistic decorations. The real tombs are in a vaulted chamber on the ground floor, which is approached by a marble passage. Even to such a solemn and sacred place has avarice made its way, for the *mullahs* in attendance most tenaciously urge the visitor to present some *nuzzar*, which, I dare say, goes into their own pockets.

The central cupola of the Taj is surmounted by a pinnacle, the size of which cannot be appreciated from below, but it may be seen in a representation of it traced on the marble platform on which the edifice stands. It is said that the pinnacle was originally of pure gold, which was removed by Ranjit Sing and replaced by one of gilt brass. The cupola is surrounded by four domes, the delicate proportions of which are faultless to a degree. The Taj has four graceful minarets at its corners, which enhance the beauty of the structure. Everything combines to give to the edifice an appearance of stately grandeur, and every part of it is in keeping with the whole. How spotlessly white! What pure and graceful proportions!! How faultlessly symmetrical!!! Although meant as a mausoleum, it has in reality nothing sepulchral about it.

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*Tank Angling in India.* By Henry Sullivan Thomas, Madras Civil Service, F.L.S., F.Z.S., Author of "The Rod in India," &c. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 165, Mount Road, London: Hamilton Adams & Co., 32, Paternoster Row, 1887.

*PISCATORIBUS SACRUM* is Mr. Thomas's dedication of his new book to brother anglers. A bright, well baited epitome of useful information; seasonable, worded moralities, and the bright, breezy, open-air life that is such a relief from the dreary routine of kutcheries, or compilation of statistics. Mr. Thomas writes admirably.

In connection with that statement let us consider the gist and bearing of the following quotation:—

A Labeo, let me tell you, is as cunning a fish as a roach, every bit, nay more so; much more so, and therein he will tax your skill the more severely, though he is to be fished for in much the same manner. Good roach fishing is the glory of the Londoner, and here is just the same for you with the added recommendation of being much more refinedly difficult, and with the fish seldom under 1 lb., averaging 2 lbs., and commonly running to 5 and 6 pounds, with always a possible 20 pounds in the mind's eye, as well as in the pond. I am afraid of want of sympathy for float fishing, and I must confess that I myself held it mighty cheap for many a long year, and that though I am one of those who are very much in sympathy with a gentleman who at an angling club dinner declared, in the face of all

the salmon tamers present, that he would rather catch tadpoles than catch nothing. Still I am afraid of want of sympathy for float fishing, for I well remember that it was some time before I cared to fish with anything but a fly. I thought that trout-taking with an artificial fly was the very acme of skill, and that once having known it I could not condescend to anything less refined. But in time the Mahseer convinced me, as I have admitted in *The Rod in India*, that he was to be taken both much more freely and also of a better size by spinning than by fly fishing. And then I found out that to be a first class spinner was infinitely more difficult than to be all that could be desired either with the salmon fly or even with the trout or dace fly. My old conceits were knocked out of me. And since then I have found out that to carry Labeo fishing to the perfection of skill is, in some respects, even more difficult than either fly fishing, or spinning for Mahseer.

Mr. Thomas has a kindly feeling for the man, who—

“Kept a poking fun like Sin  
And then a kinder rubbin it in.”

His record of takings of fish is highly charged (as electricians might say) with quiet humour and an abounding geniality that cannot fail to win sympathy. He is duly, but not tiresomely, statistical; does not grudge statistics to other people. One of these unenvious “rough note book” scores it may please Indian fishermen to weigh over again in their minds’ eyes and gather instruction from. Here it is :—

*Wednesday Morning, 8th September.*

N caught	45	fish	weighing	72½	lbs.
A	24	“	“	27½	“
B	14	“	“	7	“
C	9	“	“	11½	“
<hr/>					
Morning Total	92	“	“	118½	“

*Wednesday Evening, 8th September.*

N caught	1	fish	weighing	3	lbs.
“	2	“	“	4	“
“	3	“	“	4	“
“	5	“	“	4½	“
“	6	“	“	4	“
“	2	“	“	5	“
“	4	“	“	6	“
“	6	“	“	6½	“
“	5	“	“	6½	“
“	5	“	“	4	“
“	8	“	“	3	“
“	14	“	“	2½	“
<hr/>					
N's Evening Total	61	“	“	53	“
<hr/>					
A caught	6	fish	weighing	4½	lbs.
“	5	“	“	6	“
“	6	“	“	5	“
“	12	“	“	3	“
<hr/>					
A's Evening Total	29	“	“	18½	“



Mr. Thomas's absorption in his craft leads him sometimes to Utopias. "Wherever," he says, "you can find a pond or tank that never runs dry, and is never netted, and is fed by a freshwater channel above tidal influence from a river of which at least the higher waters are perennial, there you will assuredly find Labeos of sorts, with carp (*cirrhenia cirrhosa*) freshwater sharks, and not improbably a number of other fish." Burma rejoices also in Labeos; one of them is said to have grown to nearly five feet in length. *Cui bono?* Does any man with a seemly regard for his digestion eat them? Mr. Thomas knows of a Calcutta pond from the muddy depths of which a cutla was evolved with a hook one propitious morning; and it weighed 100 lbs. Good fishing is to the good fisher—by a law of nature as well assured as that which provides adventures to the adventurous. The main thing is to have one's heart in one's work. Throw your heart over and follow it, was the sensible advice given to a hunting man in Lincolnshire who was craning at a jump, and enquired of his friend how best to take it. He broke his neck over the endeavour 'tis true; but the moral nevertheless holds good. Given a lover of angling, and in most parts of India he will be able to chance upon eligible sites, and fulfil his destiny. He ought however to be duly modest, as well as properly greedy from a piscatorial point of view. Apropos, Mr. Thomas writes:—

Having found your pond, the next thing is how to catch the fish out of it. Don't think you are going to do that as easy as shelling peas. I will confess to you that when I did not know quite as much as I do now of their tricks and their manners, I have myself sat down by a tank for a whole day and taken nothing, when the very next day a splendid bag was made out of that very pond. Out of the 678 lbs. which I have mentioned above as taken by four rods in three days. one rod alone took 361½ lbs. or more than half the whole bag, showing how his superior skill told, for we were all using the same bait, the same tackle, and fishing within 2 or 3 yards of each other. The other three rods took, under exactly the same circumstances, 109½ lbs., 110 lbs. and 97 lbs., respectively, in the same time, and there was not one of the four that was not a born fisherman. This will prepare you to believe that skill of the finest order is fully called out in this fishing, though a certain friend of mine did rail at me as follows: When first we came back with the tale of our bag, he was all admiration and joy, even to veneration. But after a fortnight's cogitation he stole up to me at the club, and with a wicked smile upon his countenance whispered, "Thomas, I hear those were tame fish you caught, and many of them had rings in their noses!" However he is a "disciple" as he styled it, and so I can forgive him worse fibs than that.

Here is a wrinkle that may be serviceable to some of our readers:—

I have done business with a light trout rod, substituting a short stiff spinning top for the fly top. This shortening and stiffening quickens the stroke, but strike as quickly as you may, they will still steal a great quantity of your bait. They are sons of thieves every one of them. So you had best have the very best rod you can to try and be even with them,

and that is a bamboo. Not the common male bamboo, it is too heavy ; nor the female bamboo, it is again too heavy. But a bamboo reed that is a beautiful compromise between the two. It is well known in Calcutta, and used by all the native fishermen for bottom fishing, and is freely exported to England and America, where it is called cane, and used for pike rods. But for pike rods too much of the fine end is cut off, and you lose all the sport of playing your fish, as well as get your rod unnecessarily heavy ; and all avoidable weight is to be scrupulously barred as retarding the rapidity of your stroke. This bamboo reed of 10 ft. long is the very best rod you can possibly have, and if the tackle makers in England would so make them, they would find them perfection for roach and barbel also. I have these rods because I make them up myself, and perhaps you can do the same. If not Messrs. Oakes & Co., Madras, are, at my instance, getting the bamboo reeds from Calcutta and making them up ; and doubtless other tackle shops will take to doing the same when this kind of angling is understood. I will therefore be a little more explicit about the making of them up. Suppose we name them Labeo Rods that they may have a specific name by which anglers may know how to order them, and tackle makers know how to advertise them.

Here is a recipe for waterproofing :—

*Recipe for Waterproofing.*—Mix cold copal varnish and gold size in the proportion of ten parts of the former to one part of the latter, Soak the line in this dressing for a couple of days or more if you like, the jar in which it is placed being air tight. Then stretch the line to dry. The line will not be fit for use for three or four weeks of hot summer weather in England, and no rain or dew must be allowed to come to it while drying. But 3 or 4 days of hot-weather tropical sun will dry it through and through in India.

Our author's book teems with serviceable hints of the sort ; and is throughout written in a chatty agreeable style ; which no sportsman not abandoned to the discomforts of misanthropy can fail to enjoy.

It is moreover full of pleasantly told anecdotes and gossip.

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*The Indian Church Quarterly Review*, January 1888. Edited by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, M.A. Calcutta. "The Oxford Mission Press."

WE welcome the appearance of an *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, believing that it supplies a want, and may do useful work. As the editor, the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer suggests, the new periodical need make no apology for its appearance, for there are no similar publications to be ousted from the field or injured by it ; and the field before it is a wide, as well as an open one. It is true that previous attempts to maintain Indian Church Reviews have resulted in failure ; but the churchmen who interest themselves in the well being of this one are not deterred by the example ; are rather full of hopefulness. One of the new Review's predecessors collapsed, we are told, because the clergy would not support it. Such an unnatural ending does not seem likely to befall its successor



if we may judge from the published list of contributors, which includes all the Indian Bishops, two English Bishops, the members of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, the members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, the Rev. Lal Behari Day, the Rev. E. Sell, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, Madras, the Rev. H. Whitehead, Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta, and many other clergymen. Distinguished laymen have also promised contributions: Mr. Gladstone, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Rivers Thompson, Sir Alfred Croft, General Sir E. Goldsmid. The Rev. Father Jacob, Armenian Priest, is another name to be found in the list of contributors—a token of the Reviews catholicity. Nevertheless the main object in view, “is to make the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* the recognized organ of orthodox opinion for the Indian Church on all theological questions, and to discuss, from a churchman's point of view, those topics of ethical, literary, or historical interest, which the organs of different schools lose no opportunity of pressing upon the public.

“The *Indian Church Quarterly Review* exists to promote Church doctrine, Church life, and Church opinion, with special reference to the local circumstances of the Church of India. It may further be added that a special feature will be the consideration of the relation of the Anglican Church to the ancient and historic Oriental Churches; and living as we do, with Eastern Christianity at our very doors, such topics are more likely to be of real and personal interest, than to churchmen domiciled in the West.”

We have already referred to the Reviews catholicity; we will now take a passage from Mr. Townsend's article illustrative of its spirit of toleration:—

“‘What then?’ some reader may exclaim. ‘Is the Church of England alone in the right and are all outside her pale to be condemned and she alone to be saved?’ Possibly the English Church might have been bold enough to have made so audacious a claim had she any sound reason for believing that S. John's prophetic mind intended a special exception in her favour when he wrote, ‘If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us.’ It may be wiser to acknowledge that she no less than other religious bodies, together with the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch, will need pardon at the Judgment Day, not only for sins and negligences, but also for ignorances. In any case the English Church has not the authority if she had the heart to exclude from the Divine mercy those who unwittingly, and in all good conscience, have rent the Body of Christ. But the fact remains that in the Bible schism and heresies are condemned as sins, and the sentence of Holy Scripture would not gain much in

force or solemnity even if it were countersigned by the Church of England."

The Rev. D. J. Mackey's paper on Church Music in India is readable and practical. After some hints for the direction of choirs, he refers thus to Military Bands :—

"The more frequent use of Military Bands in connection with Divine Service, is most desirable, and perfectly practicable, if the good-will of the Commanding Officer can be had. In some cases bands have been so employed and with the best effect, but in the great majority of cases, they are simply employed to accompany the troops to and from the parade service. Judgment would, of course, have to be used, in the selection of appropriate instruments, but experience has shown that the euphonium, bassoon, ophicleide, clarionette and flute can sufficiently support the voice, and with pleasing effect, either with or without organ accompaniment. Another use of Military Bands will claim careful consideration in connection with the Army Guild of the Holy Standard, which is doing such excellent work in India. Those who have attended the Annual Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, will not soon forget the long procession, singing, 'Onward, Christian Soldiers,' the music being kept together by brass instrumentalists placed at proper intervals."

Church music, says Mr. Mackey, should be regarded as a Science and an Art, claiming careful study. It is a mistake to suppose that apparent simplicity of construction is synonymous with easiness. "A mathematical problem which is stated in fewest terms is often the hardest to solve: and probably a chorale is one of the most difficult things to render well." About choir rules Mr. Mackey writes :—

"There must be rules, but the fewer the better: but what there are should be strictly enforced. They are very often elaborately illuminated, and hung up in the choir vestry in an Oxford frame, and there they remain—practically a dead letter. The great point is to impress voluntary choirs with a due sense of obligation. Because unpaid, they are as amenable to authority, and no more at liberty to use their private judgment, or to criticize the rulings, than are the voluntary-enrolled members of fire-brigades, life-boats, or volunteer regiments.

The Rev. J. A. Colbeck's paper on Buddhism in Upper Burma is extremely interesting and apropos to the times. Indeed, all the articles in the Review are interesting from one point of view or another. Prefixed to them is a portrait of the Bishop of Calcutta, done by the photo-etching process. A life-like, pleasant portrait. Those of the other Indian prelates are to follow in future issues.



*The National Review.* February 1888.

PROFESSOR Goldwin Smith contributes to the February Number of *the National Review* one of his "slashing" articles. It deals with conservatism and female suffrage, and it indicates that his experiences of political life in the Western Republic have converted Mr. Smith to Toryism. He inveighs against reckless extensions of the franchise, and the placement of supreme power in the hands of the mob. By the system of pledges, he says, and by "constant application of the caucus screw to the consciences of members, representation has been reduced to delegation, and the member has been degraded into the mere bearer of a mandate; so that not only is supreme power vested in the constituencies, but on all great questions its exercise by them is direct. The electorate, in a word, is the Government. By the successive extensions of the franchise to ignorant, credulous, and irresponsible masses, without any precautionary adjustment, Government has been so enfeebled and degraded, that the nation is now hardly able to protect its own existence against conspiracy. By the extension of the franchise to women, and the admission of a tide of female weakness and emotion into the electorate, Government would be emasculated; and this in face of a world which, instead of becoming more feminine, seems to be daily becoming more a world of Bismarks. The only hope for the country would then be that out of some anarchical convulsion there would arise a Government of force. Indeed, this is the remedy to which those who deem the life of the nation the first object, and the enjoyment of political liberty the second, will soon be beginning sorrowfully to look forward. No nation, and least of all a nation which is the mistress of a great empire, can only go on being governed by gangs of wire-pullers in the name of a mob of thirty millions." Our author thinks it exceedingly doubtful whether, supposing that the Conservative party had once more broken its principles by revolutionizing the relations between the sexes, and had sacrificed the family for the sake of carrying an election, that election would after all be carried. For the Radical women, of whom there are not a few in these revolutionary times, would all vote. So would the Irish women—under the dictation of their priests. So would the discontented and restless women generally, while the contented and Conservative women would be apt to remain at home. Of the women who would take an active part in politics, nine out of ten most likely would be Radical, and something more. Touching another side of the argument, it is constantly implied that women are an unrepresented class, with separate interests of their own. They

are not a class, however, but a sex ; their interests are completely identified with those of their husbands, brothers, and sons. Yet, again, Government and law rest at bottom on force, and force is male. Women can help neither in upholding Government, nor in enforcing law. If woman, when enfranchised, were in the indulgence of arbitrary sentiment, or under the influence of any exaggerated notions about the claims of her sex, to make laws which would palpably be unjust or extremely irksome to men, the men would refuse to execute them, and there would be a collapse of the Government and the legislature. These seem to be the salient points of Mr. Goldwin Smith's argument, which is worked out with a wealth of illustration, and a raciness of style, that render it very pleasant reading.

Mr. Alfred Austin sits in judgment on Matthew Arnold's last work upon Shelly, Byron, and their companions, male and female, and chaffs the apostle of sweetness and light about it. There must be joy in Philistia, he opines, over that article on Shelley which appeared in the January number of *The Nineteenth Century*: joy over the sinner that repenteth. "In that portion of the Elysian fields allotted to good Englishmen, where congregations never part, and sermons never end, the ghost of the late Mr. Miall must be thoroughly happy. Mr. Matthew Arnold has taken a brief from the Philistines ; he has sate down to bread and salt with the ten-pound householder, and is found perfectly at home in the severe company of the advocates of the deceased wife's sister." He laments that Professor Dowden has invested his *Life of Shelley* with a certain poetic quality of fervour and picturesqueness, and by way of counterpoise he proceeds to materialize it, to reduce it to triteness. "Certainly, since one of Charles Lever's Irish heroes 'took the Popery out of the tomb stone,' there has been no such instance of terse yet sweeping revision." But does Mr. Arnold verily believe that he thereby introduces us more accurately to the facts of Shelley's life, and presents us which a more real Shelley than that of Professor Dowden ? His critic, at any rate, is sure that he does not. Was there ever a real Shelley, he asks, if so, he was—

Brief as the lightning in the collied night,  
That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth,  
And ere a man hath power to say, Behold !  
The jaws of darkness do devour it up ;  
So quick bright things come to confusion.

Mr. Arnold has tried to fix this "bright thing ;" but though he cries "Behold," we do not see it. He has hidden it behind Philistian baize curtains, to the prejudice of his theories about culture. Surely,—Mr. Austin writes—"Surely there is ground for surprise when a man who has lived so long and so wisely, who



has honestly cultivated so much sweetness, and really absorbed and radiated so much light, has withal not discovered that it is bootless work bringing men of genius, and poets most of all, before the tribunal of 'clerical and respectable Oxford' ! It is most unfair, most wrong, most wicked, most anything you like that one cannot do so. But what if it is so, and it cannot be helped ? It is a wicked world, and most of all, an unfair world. Mr. Arnold says Shelley's schoolfellows were right to call him mad Shelley. Well, it is moreover, 'a mad world, my masters.' It never did act fairly to the people who charm it, any more than it does to the people who bore it ; and it never will. We see proof of this every day. A duchess—a handsome and self-confident duchess, that is—may do with security, indeed with advantage, what a dairy-maid had better not think of. A popular actor or actress can with impunity ignore all the Ten Commandments. *You* must not do it, neither can I. But that is different. Even if you have a supreme soprano or tenor voice, you can do pretty much as you wish, let 'clerical and respectable Oxford' think or say what it will. Men of dazzling genius have faculty still to dazzle the world, even though culture, relapsing into Philistinism exclaims, "What a set ! What a world !" Thus, with much more in the same strain, is the cynical, *spirituel* Arnold's judgment as to Shelly set at naught.

Byron was brutally selfish, says Mr. Arnold. "Being a man, probably he was," his critic rejoins. But he was endlessly, inexhaustively interesting. His life, like Shelley's, "is a first rate novel in which all the elements of romance are blended ; noble lineage (for novel-readers love a lord), the pinch of poverty, physical beauty, physical defect, prodigious vanity, an adventurous spirit, a roving temperament, many amours, and, just as the curtain goes down, a fine dramatic exit." Although his wife was as well disposed to annoy and injure Byron as Mary Godwin was to please and benefit Shelley, she ministered to his fame probably more than all the other men, women, and things, with whom and which he was in life connected. From her failure Mr. Arnold might learn how futile it is to find fault and pick quarrels with men of genius. "They play, but without any concealment, so to speak, with loaded dice ; they have more trumps up their sleeves than any Heathen Chineese ; their shafts are tipped with poison that kills like ridicule ; and not only all the demons of Hades, but all the angels of Heaven (and of earth also) fight on their side. . . . . "You may put genius in the dock, and framing against it the most damning of indictments count confidently on a conviction. To your surprise, possibly to your disgust, you find the evi-

dence, though clear as noon-day, carries no weight. The jury appears to be bought; the very judges are corrupt; the culprit is acquitted amid the applause of the court: and the only person who is pronounced guilty of contempt, is the respectable person who brought the charge." Mr. Austin protests against a supposition that he wants to extend the borders of morality in order to suit the disposition of men of genius. But, *magna est veritas*. He does but call attention to facts, patent facts, he says, and he holds that Mr. Arnold's conceptions of human nature, and even his criteria of taste are too narrow. Do not throw a stone into the well out of which you have drunk, says an Eastern proverb. "We all drink of the fresh well-spring of these men's poetry; and if sometimes haply an *amari aliquid* bubbles up to the surface, and leaves for the moment a bitter taste in the mouth, well let us say nothing about it, but drink again, and this time deeper."

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*The Coins of Tinnevelly.* By Rev. E. Löventhal, Danish Lutheran Mission, Vellore. With 4 Photographic Plates, Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1888.

WE have to thank Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. for an interesting tract on the coins of Tinnevelly, about which much useful information has been placed together by the Rev. E. Lövenethal, of the Danish Lutheran Mission at Vellore. The tract does not lay claim to exhaustiveness. Its author says:—

The north-western part of Tinnevelly district I did not at all visit, in the western and south-western part I found only few coins of interest, and in Tinnevelly and Palamcottah towns not a single one worth mentioning, although I searched every bazaar small or large. At Tuticorin, too, I did not find anything, even not Dutch colonial coins. Nearly all my Tinnevelly coins are from the eastern and south-eastern parts of the district, and more especially from the villages on both sides of the river Tamravarni, from Srivaikuntham down to Old Kayal (Palaya Kayal).

From this, I think it becomes evident, that all these coins belong to the old renowned places Korkey and Kayal, except, perhaps, the Nayaka coins represented on Plate IV, which may have been coined at some neighbouring place, I should think Srivaikuntham or Alvar-Tinnevelly.

The plates referred to are, we would remark, excellent. Mr. Löventhal thus describes his process with them:—

I place the coin under a piece of common letter paper—not too thick—and press it with the end of the finger. A corner of a handkerchief must be put between the finger and the paper to prevent perspiration from spoiling the paper. The coin is then taken away and the drawing made on the impression, while the coin is kept at the side for regulating the drawing if the impression should not be distinct.

As these drawings are made on rather thin paper, they should first be pasted on thicker paper and then clipped in the shape of the coins and arranged and stuck on the final plates.



This method I would recommend for numismatists living in the mofussil, who want to publish anything and cannot get proper phototypes. It is much more time-saving, and the figures become much more correct than by real drawing, and it could also be done by people, who like myself, have not the gift of drawing. For pasting I used "Artists' Glue," which I found much better than common gum, and can be had in the shops of Madras.

Worth quoting seems this passage from our author's study :—

Although the Hindu coins from North India are more historical in their way, they are not a true image of the Hindu mind ; the Mahomedan influence has been so overwhelming there, that it has pressed its own features even upon the Hindu coinage. This is not the case in South India, and especially the coins from this period are a *true picture of the Hindu mind*. Free from all heraldic restraints, it shows itself here in all its phantastic splendour, such as it was at that time, and in this way these coins without historical marks, form a historical witness of the last revival of Brahmanism, now rapidly fading away before the light of European civilisation, never to revive again.

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*An English Anthology from Chaucer to the present time.* Selected and edited by John Bradshaw, M. A., L.L.D., Editor of Milton's Poetical Works. Madras: Christian Knowledge Society's Depot. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co. 1887.

DR. BRADSHAW, of the Madras Education Department, has put forth a second edition of his Anthology, the motive for doing so being apparently that portions of his compilation have been selected by the Universities of Madras and Calcutta as examination text-books. The special merit claimed for this edition is that each poem, or fragment of one, is placed in its exact chronological position, or as nearly so as possible. Of the older poets, Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton are, as a matter of course, paraded, and as the manner is with an educational Anthology, mutilated for the use of students. Mrs. Barbauld, Charlotte Smith, Whittier, Bryant, French, Lord Lytton and other mediocrities, figure as representatives of the modern school of poetry. There is one sonnet by Christina Rossetti: there is nothing by Dante Rossetti: there is nothing by Robert Browning, nothing by William Morris, nothing by Tennyson. The poetry that is influencing the age is, we may say, wholly unrepresented. Dr. Bradshaw is angry with Messrs. MacMillan & Co. because they have refused to let him use his scissors and paste on the Laureate's works. Did Browning's publishers similiarly refuse, and Rossetti's and Morris's? We fail to see much use, even from a merely school text-book point of view *in re* compiling an Anthology from which the choicest flowers of modern poetry are excluded.

*History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant.* By Bernhard Pünjer, translated from the German. By W. Hastie, B.D. Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 38, George Street, 1887.

EIGHT years ago Dr. Pünjer put forth the first volume of his history of the Christian Philosophy of Religion; a work the merit of which found prompt recognition in Germany, but which has been but little known to English readers.

Deeming this a pity and a loss, Mr. W. Hastie applied himself to the task of translating it, and the outcome of his endeavour now lies before us. Not having access to the original work, we are not in a position to determine whether Mr. Hastie's rendering of his author is faithful and apt; but certainly the English version reads well; the meaning is never obscure; the style is easy, direct, unpretentious; the story told progresses fluently and naturally, all the information afforded being closely relevant.

These are all presumptions in favour of a clear understanding on the translator's part of his author's meaning, of unobtrusiveness of self, of a settled plan of work. The book itself does not profess to be any thing more than a history of the Christian Philosophy of Religion: it makes no pretence to rank as a universal history of that philosophy: it claims to be a dispassionate record of the rise and progress of philosophico-religious theories, not a criticism of those theories. The judge painstakingly arrays, sums up the evidence: it is for a jury, for the Public to give a verdict on it. As to that matter, Dr. Flint, Professor of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, writes in a preface to Mr. Hastie's translation:—

The historian of ideas is no more bound to constitute himself the judge of their truth or falsity, than the historian of events is bound to pronounce on their wisdom or folly, rightness or wrongness. The sole duty of the historian, alike of ideas and events, is to give us a complete history of them—such a history as will of itself imply the true judgment of them. It may sometimes be desirable to add critical reflections to the history, but it ought to be clearly recognised that these are not the history, and should not be substituted for it; that, on the contrary, the space allotted to them is space deducted from the history; and that indulgence in them is even very apt to be detrimental to the truthfulness of the historical representation. The characters and functions of the historian and the critic are so different, that when an attempt is made to act as both, the critic is not unlikely to discredit and injure the historian. The best historians of philosophy and theology have now, accordingly, come to dispense with philosophical and theological criticism, and to confine themselves to historical narration and exposition. Their motto is, as was that of Pünjer, "Darstellung, nicht Beurtheilung."

Dr. Flint affirms that whatever opinion Pünjer declares to have been maintained by any one was, the reader may



feel assured, by him maintained substantially as set forth. Pünjer's work is characterized, he says, by an almost perfect impartiality, many theories being exactly stated in it of which the author must have altogether disapproved, but which, nevertheless, are in no wise coloured or distorted by his individual predilections. Clearly such judicial holding of the scales is a virtue as efficient for the right, as it is rare amongst men who sit in judgment on vexed questions of theology. Sit in judgment to a certain extent the most impassive historian needs must: weighing evidence, and piecing together the various statements in the record before him, is a virtual sitting in judgment. Commendable is the conduct of the judge who never goes outside that record, never introduces into it his own personality. Seldom is the historian possessed of such self control; especially the historian concerned with theologic odiums. Dr. Pünjer "has effaced himself before his subject in order that it alone may be seen, and seen precisely as it is. His personal feelings and convictions, his subjective peculiarities and predilections, are kept in abeyance, and his mind is made to serve as a pure and uncoloured medium for the transmission or reflection of the objective reality, matter, or contents of the history." This is high praise for a historian. It does not appear to be undeserved.

We shall now, in a few extracts, allow the author of *The Christian Philosophy of Religion* to speak for himself. First as to St. Augustine's philosophical standpoint:

In the philosophical relation Augustine attaches himself essentially to Plato, or rather to Neo-Platonism. The way in which he establishes the certainty of our knowledge in opposition to the scepticism of the Academics, reminds one of modern thoughts. The necessity of certain knowledge is deduced from our desire of happiness; for mere striving after truth would leave us unsatisfied. The same position is shewn by reference to our consciousness. We only know certainly that we think; and whoever is certain even that he doubts, can no longer doubt that he lives, remembers, perceives, wills, thinks, judges, and knows. In the self-consciousness the point is therefore found which no scepticism can shake. From this self-certainty of the rational mind an advance is then made to wider cognitions. The mind reflects upon itself, and thus it distinguishes the external senses, the internal sense, and the reason. To this ascending process on the subjective side there corresponds a series of gradations on the objective side, in the mere existence of bodies, the life which embraces the lower sphere of the plant along with the higher of the animal, and the rational self-conscious mind. It is true that we can only believe that bodies exist; but this faith is absolutely necessary, and without it we would fall into worse error. Continued self-contemplation shows to us likewise that our own mind is not the highest. The human spirit is changeable, and therefore it must rise to something eternal and unchangeable which is higher than itself. Higher truths present themselves to it as its highest rules. It finds the highest rules of knowledge in ideas, the highest rules of beauty in ideals, and the highest

rules of goodness in moral laws ; and these are more perfect than the human mind, because man judges by them and does not set himself up to judge upon them. These rational truths are identified with the Logos, or even with God Himself. "If there is anything more exalted than truth, it is God ; and if there be nothing more exalted, than truth itself is God." So far, then, philosophy, and especially the Platonic philosophy, is capable of leading to God as the highest of all beings. From this point of view Augustine can even say that theology and philosophy in their perfection are indetical, because both have to do with the knowledge of God, the highest truth and the highest life. But on the other hand, he declares that philosophy is incapable of attaining the highest knowledge, for she belongs at the same time to the "city of the devil," which, on account of the confusion prevailing in it, is called Babel. From the insufficiency of philosophy is deduced the necessity of the divine revelation which is to be accepted in faith. Faith is thinking with assent. Upon faith all the relations of human society rest ; and it is especially necessary in relation to divine things which cannot be seen. Everywhere authority precedes reason, and faith precedes insight ; but at the same time authority rests upon reason, in so far as one authority is preferred on rational grounds to another. Religion thus begins with faith, that is, with recognising and submitting to the authority of the Church ; but we ought to exert all our powers in order to advance from faith to rational insight. Apart from his peculiar anti-Pelagian views about sin and grace, the system of Augustine bears a Neo-Platonic character throughout, and it was especially through it that Neo-Platonism was introduced into the theology of the Middle Ages.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Sir Thomas Browne, Hobbes, and Charles Blount are the characters chosen as representative of the beginnings of English Deism. We quote the opening of the essay on Hobbes :

Thomas Hobbes (1588—1679) \* appears as a decided adherent of philosophical empiricism. He defines philosophy as a knowledge of effects from their known causes, and as knowledge of possible causes obtained from known effects by means of correct reasonings (*effectuum ex conceptis eorum causis seu generationibus, et rursus generationum quæ esse possunt ex cognitis effectibus per rectam ratiocinationem aquisita*). Reckoning, or calculation, is represented as the method of philosophizing, for rational thinking, is just a process of adding or subtracting, and all syllogistic inference consists of these two operations. All our knowledge is derived from sensible perception. This sensible perception is described as a process of sensation in a strongly materialistic way. Its basis is

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\* The principal writings of Hobbes were called forth by the contemporary circumstances of his country. He says himself, that the third part of his *De Cive* (London 1642) was published by him because, some years before the outbreak of the Civil War, his country had been violently excited by explanations regarding the rights of the rulers and the due obedience of the citizens. He hopes by it to show that it would be better to bear some inconvenience in private life than to bring the State into confusion, and that the justice of an undertaking should not be measured by the speeches and advice of individual citizens, but by the laws of the State. His other important work is his *Leviathan ; or the matter, forme and power of a Commonwealth, ecclesiasticall and Civill*, London 1651. He also indicates its purpose to be to show that there is no pretext by which infringement of the laws can be excused.



an external body, which presses either immediately or mediately upon the corresponding organ, and propagates this impression by means of the nerves to the brain or to the heart. Thence arises a counter-pressure in order to be freed by an outward-going motion from the external pressure. This motion, however, appears as an external thing, and is called a sensation. Its different qualities are nothing but differences of the motion in us produced by the differences in the motions of external matter. The imagination is nothing but the continuance of the motion according to the universal law of persistence. Words are mere counters, that is arbitrarily chosen designations for particular sensations. Reason has no other function than to add or to subtract generic names. By the addition of two names there arises a judgment, by the addition of two judgments an inference, and by the addition of inferences, a proof. From the sum-total, again, one quantity is found by the subtraction of others, because all thinking consists in the simple processes of adding and subtracting. Mathematical method is the only philosophical method, and arithmetic is the model of all science. Because all thinking rests upon sensation, there is no thinking and knowing but of corporeal and finite things. There are only two kinds of body, the natural and the artificial, the latter being those that are made by the will of man. Therefore philosophy is divided into the Science of Nature and the Science of the State, to which Logic has to be added as the theory of method.

As chief representatives of the "new movement" in Germany, in opposition to the *Aufklärung*, we find set down the names of Lessing, Herder, Hamann, and Jacobi. Lessing is claimed as essentially a follower of Leibnitz. But not of that Leibnitz, Wolff had made current in the language of his time.

Lessing returns to the genuine Leibniz whom he discovered in his own writings, making an exact distinction between Leibniz's exoteric and esoteric forms of doctrine. But even here he is not a mere reproducer. This is seen when we look away from minor points. Thus it is that Lessing makes individuality (the high estimate of which he had learned from Leibniz) to be the highest criterion of action in the practical sphere, and that he does not recognise Leibniz's distinction between truths that are above reason and truths that are contrary to reason, but, in accordance with the rationalism of the *Aufklärung*, he subjects everything to the decision of the human understanding. The main difference between the two turns upon the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν*. Leibniz commonly apprehends God as the first and most perfect monad. The finite monads are independently by themselves out of God; and it is only incidentally that another view is indicated when he designates God as the central monad, and thus, as the soul, while all existing things are regarded as the body. Lessing, in his essay "On the reality of things out of God," already declares that he can form no conception of such reality. If things are called the complement of possibility, there may or may not be a conception of this in God. No one will assert the latter alternative, but if it is admitted that there is a conception of things in God, this implies that all things are really in Himself; for as soon as God has a conception of the reality of things, they are no longer really out of Him. Or if it is said that the reality of a thing is the sum of all the possible determinations which may belong to it, this sum must necessarily also be in the Idea of God. Nor is the distinction between things and God done away with, if the conception which God has of real things are these real things themselves. Even as such they continue to be contingent, while

necessary reality belongs to God. While decidedly repudiating an extra-mundane personal God after the manner of the human personality, he always lays emphasis upon the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν*, but in doing so he is still ver<sup>y</sup> far from the genuine Spinozism.

Here is a suggestive extract from the story of Jacobi's philosophical creed :

Spinozism is the same as Atheism. This identification of these systems was early maintained by Jacobi. It was the interest he had in examining the ontological argument for the existence of God, that led him to the study of Spinoza, and he soon recognised that Spinoza did not hold God to be extra-mundane, but only regarded Him as the sum-total of all things, or as the universe. Hence, according to Jacobi, Spinozism is Atheism or Cosmotheism; for a God who is not personally outside of the world is as good as no God. The existence of God cannot be reached from this point of view; for the conception of the cause can only coincide with that of nature herself, and the understanding can only apprehend the unconditioned as the indeterminate, or as the *ἐν καὶ πᾶν*. All Philosophy of the Understanding is thus atheism. At the same time it is fatalism; for every logical philosopher of the Understanding, who everywhere applies the principle of the Sufficient Reason, must, like Spinoza, deny freedom. "Every way of demonstration leads on to fatalism."

Spinozism is therefore the completest system of the Philosophy of the Understanding. But Fichteism is also designated as such, although it is Idealism, while Spinozism is Materialism. How, then, is this possible? It is very simple; for the one is but the converse of the other. The Philosophy of the Understanding puts all its notions in the intellectual Ego. The choice, then, is presented of either regarding the Ego as what exists and the notions as merely subjective productions of it, or of ascribing being to things, and considering them as the principle of thinking. The former view gives idealism, the latter gives materialism. Each is incontrovertible within its own sphere; they both, however, belong to the reflective Philosophy of the Understanding.

This Philosophy of the Understanding, or of Reflection, is not in a position to explain or define real existence. How, then, is such a philosophy possible? A twofold illusion deceives the demonstrators. In the first place, they are misled by the belief that by continued abstraction of the understanding we can really reach the conception of the Unconditioned. In the process of abstraction, the particular is let go and the universal is kept, and it necessarily appears to be more unlimited; and thus the conceit is formed that the conception of the Unconditioned must result by abstracting from all limits. In truth, however, we only thus obtain a whole that is void of material, and is therefore without limit; it is completely indeterminate; it is pure negation or pure nothing. This Unconditioned is then apprehended as the ground of things, and from the All, which is without any distinguishing quality, the real world, with an infinite manifoldness of determinate qualities, is made to proceed.—This first illusion is forthwith supported by a second. In sensible perception we always see what is complete and perfect preceded by something that is incomplete and imperfect; we see formlessness precede form, heedlessness precede reflection, desire precede law, and crude want of morals precede moral practice. Being deceived by this, it appears to us as possible that a determinate being may arise out of that nothing of the understanding.

The Philosophy of the Understanding does not satisfy the mind, for it cannot explain personal existence. But, as we have seen, it is the



function of Philosophy to unveil existence, and in the last resort, it has not to do with logical truths, but with historical truths. "Truth is clearness, and it is related everywhere to reality, to facts." The most immediate reality is our personal existence; and the person is at the same time the subject of knowledge. Hence no knowledge is of value which is prejudicial to the personal Ego; for "it is a thought of high and pregnant meaning that development of life is alone development of truth, and that truth and life are both one and the same." "The Originator of the world must have given to every being as much truth as He assigned to it of life." It is the business of philosophy to exhibit the individual life. But individual life rests upon two factors: upon consciousness or the ideal, and upon the real or actual object of the Ego; by the former we exist for ourselves, by the latter we exist in ourselves. Each of these factors may be made the starting-point of philosophy. If we start from the ideal, or from intelligence, we come to Spinozism. If we start from the real, or from life as it specially expresses itself in free action, we come to Platonism. The decision as to which of these two philosophies is chosen, is not made by the understanding on the ground of principles, but is only determined by the peculiar character of the philosophizing individual, according as the energy of life or the power of the understanding controls him. In other words, it depends on the man's whole soul; for philosophy does not strive after truth in general, but after a definite truth that will satisfy the head and the heart. Truth is loved and sought, not as something alien and disproportionate to man, or as destroying him and his spiritual existence, but it is sought and loved for the sake of what it contains, because of this being something that is decided, most specific in itself, and tending to elevate the spiritual existence of man. Man can neither seek nor love a truth that slays him, that even annihilates him.

An exhaustive, an adequate review of Dr. Pünjer's book would be a book in itself; and for such critical development as that we have not space at command, even if it were in the fitness of things. The extracts we have made will give our readers some idea of Dr. Pünjer's way of dealing with his subject. Those who are interested in it will do well to provide themselves with a copy of the *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*."

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*Lord Randolph Churchill and the Moscow Gazette,*  
Tuesday, 24th January 1888.

WE have received No. 253 of the *Diplomatic Fly-sheets* with which Mr. C. D. Collett periodically illuminates the course of European politics. In it the objects and meanings of Lord Randolph Churchill's late visit to Russia are discussed, and conclusion is arrived at, that it points to the possibility of a discreditable arrangement about Bulgaria being made between Russia and the other parties to the Treaty of Berlin. Indignant alarm is excited by the following extract from the *Moscow Gazette*:

This visit will dispel his Lordship's prejudices; he will find here no trace of aggressive plans upon India, and will perceive a readiness to solve all questions

in accord with England, full guarantees being given for the security of India, provided England does not oppose Russia's legitimate interests in Europe.

Mr. George Crawshay, the writer of the *Fly-sheets* wants to know how a Russian guarantee for India's security can have any value, and whether any British Minister dare accept such a guarantee. The mere talk of such a thing is mischievous, he says, and he warns the public not to be deceived by polite phrases. "We have to consider, not whether we will accept a benefit, but whether we will submit to a threat. In plain English, unless we do something for Russia, which the *Moscow Gazette* calls "not opposing Russia's legitimate interests in Europe," Russia will do everything in her power to destroy our security in India. What are these said legitimate interests? England could only assent to the Russian proposition on the understanding that she is to give her own interpretation to the word legitimate. It is not to be expected that she will sign a blank cheque in favour of Russia! Mr. Crawshay holds it beyond doubt, that one of the legitimate interests would centre in the Bulgarian question, and concludes that what Russia wants is an undertaking not to oppose Muscovite endeavours to reduce the Bulgarian people to subjection, by fear, or if need be, by force. Not that Russia cares two pence half-penny about Bulgaria itself. But Bulgaria is a stepping stone to Constantinople, and right or wrong, *per fas et nefas*, Russia will therefore persevere in her efforts to break the resistance of the Bulgarian people, and to bend them to her will. What then should we do? It suffices Mr. Crawshay's present purpose to say what we should not do: and he says:—

We should not, for any consideration whatever, relieve Russia from the apprehension that in pursuing her unjust quarrel with the Bulgarians, she will continue to encounter the opposition of England. Least of all should we give any countenance to the idea that we are prepared to make concessions to Russia in exchange for her forbearance in India. It is most unfortunate that the presence of Lord Randolph Churchill in St. Petersburg should have excited such expectations as are expressed by the *Moscow Gazette*, but our excellent Ambassador, Sir Robert Morier, who has been absent, has now returned to his post, and we are confident that if his advice be taken, no such discreditable arrangement will be come to with Russia as Lord Randolph Churchill and the *Moscow Gazette* have, between them, led us to apprehend.

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*The Imperial Gazetteer of India.* By W. W. Hunter, C.S.I., C.I.E., L.L.D., Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India. London: Trübner & Co. 1887.

WORTHY conclusions of long sustained effort, ripe scholarship and cosmopolitan sympathy comprise the concluding volumes of Dr. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* now lying before us, *viz.* Vols. XII, XIII and XIV. The last mentioned is an index; not the least valuable item in the series, as people who have sympathy with Carlyle and



his lamenting over current lack of such finger posts to information, will not be slow to acknowledge.

Dr. Hunter's is always such finished work that it becomes matter of difficulty to choose illustrative examples. Take, to begin with, this vivid picturesque birds-eye view of Rawal Pindi, and its surroundings.

The District of Ráwal Pindi forms a portion of the rugged and broken Himálayan spur which projects irregularly into the northern angle of the Sind Ságar Doáb. Its surface is cut up in every direction by mountain ranges entering it from either side, while the intermediate valleys are intersected by minor heights, whose confused and irregular masses crop out in picturesque diversity, to the despair of the systematic geographer. So far as these fantastic bosses can be reduced to any order, they naturally divide themselves into two characteristic regions, on the east and west of an imaginary central line. The eastern range, running along the side of the Jehlam (Jhelum) river, is known by the name of the Murree (Marri) Hills, from the sanitarium perched upon its northern extremity. It is composed of sandstone slopes, the direct outliers of the Himálayas, and is clothed with magnificent forest trees and a rich undergrowth of brushwood. Near the summer station of Murree (Marri), the spur attains a height of 8,000 feet, and stretching thence into the District of Hazára, loses itself at last in the snowy ranges of Kashmír. The view from the sanitarium embraces the white cloud-like summits of the Kashmír Mountains, with a rich and varied foreground of mingled forest and cultivation clothing the hill sides. Southward, the hills decrease in height, growing more diversified and angular, but gaining in picturesqueness what they lose in sublimity. Cottages appear on every jutting ledge, half hidden amid the foliage, overtopped by a graceful mosque, and threatened from above by some frowning fortress of Sikh or Ghakkar chieftain. At length, on the southern frontier, the hills slowly subside into a comparatively level country, only divided from the valley of the Jehlam by a narrow barrier of sandstone.

The western half of the District presents a very different appearance. Its mountains belong to the trans Indus system, which is here severed by the deeply cut channel of the great river, so as to give off a series of isolated ridges, cutting up the opposite bank into wild mazes or limestone hills. The soil here is dry and barren; the vegetation is scanty and stunted; the valleys are mere water-worn ravines or beds of flooded torrents; and the population is crowded into large villages, which lie scattered at great distances among the inhospitable rocks. The chief range of these western mountains is known as the Chitta Pahár, from the whiteness of its exposed nummulitic beds. To the north lies the fertile valley of Chach, one of the rare oases which relieve the wildness of this savage waste. A minor range ends in the black cliffs of Attock, an important ferry and fortress on the Indus. Smaller lines of hills cover the remainder of the area, in too great numbers for special description.

There has been a good deal of unpleasantness abroad of late years with regard to the conduct of affairs at Salem in the Madras Presidency. Any one desirous of a better understanding on the subject than outside opportunities have afforded him, could not do better than read and consider our author's remarks under this heading. It is a land given over to blight, locusts, caterpillars, and insect plagues to growing

crops. It is liable to inundation. It is badly provided for from a Public Works point of view. And yet we go on wondering why it should be liable to famines. Some of us do not understand the exceeding velocity of cyclonic storm waves. People who read Dr. Hunter's article on Sandwip will be better informed. As to the inundation of 1876, Dr. Hunter quotes the Collector of Noakhali's report thus:—

The people in the villages on the south-western coast stated that the inundation commenced with a wave at least 6 feet high, which burst over the land from the south-east. Very shortly afterwards, another wave, 6 feet higher, came from the south-west. These waves came suddenly, just like the bore, mounting up and curling over. The second wave is described as lifting the roofs of the houses, and whirling the contents—human beings, furniture, etc.—violently outside. The mat walls, with their wooden posts, were swept away, the latter being either broken off short or wrested out of the ground. All this was done suddenly; people described it as occurring in one second of time. Behind each wave the water did not fall again, but remained, so that after the second wave there was 12 feet of water over the land.

'In the centre of the island the water came up less suddenly. The Government Pleader at Harishpur was taking refuge from the storm in his new office. Suddenly an alarm was raised that the water was coming. He got on the wooden dais, but the water immediately covered this. He then went up to his neck in water, along a raised path, to the bank of his tank, which is about 12 feet high. He told me that the rising of the water did not take longer than two minutes from first to last, and that he was only just in time. The bank of the tank was not more than 10 yards from his office.'

In many villages whole families were swept away, and in some of the *chars* the entire population was destroyed. 'In the village of Nayá-masti,' writes Mr. Pellew, 'one man was the sole survivor of thirteen; four men were the survivors of a household of twenty-five. The women have perished in immense numbers. Most of the men who remain are wifeless. In Kangáli Char, the Sub Inspector of Police found nothing but two wild buffaloes alive, and the corpses of men, cows, and buffaloes. In Char Maulavi, out of 177 people, 137 died.'

The administrative history of the Santál Parganá is we are told—

The history of the gradual withdrawal of the territory now comprised in the District from the operation of the general Regulations; that withdrawal being throughout dictated by a regard for the peculiar national character of the two races of Pahariás and Santáls. The policy was in the first instance set on foot by Mr. Augustus Cleveland, Collector of Bhágalpur, in the rules which he proposed for the management of the Pahariás between 1780 and 1784. These rules, which are referred to in the article on BHAGULPORE DISTRICT, were incorporated in Regulation I. of 1796, so that Cleveland has a fair claim to be considered the author of the Non-Regulation system. It followed, however, from confirming the Pahariás in possession of the hills, that disputes arose between them and the Hindu *zamíndárs* of the plains as to the right of grazing cattle and cutting timber along the lower slopes. That the hills had really or nominally belonged to the *zamíndárs*, there can be no doubt; but the troubles following the British accession, and shortly afterwards the great famine of 1769-70, had weakened or destroyed their



control. Cleveland practically assumed possession of the hills on behalf of Government ; they were excluded from the Permanent Settlement in 1793 ; and finally in 1823, the Government by Resolution declared its proprietary right in the hills, and ordered that the tract covered by this declaration should be demarcated. Accordingly, in 1825, two Government officials were deputed to demarcate, with solid masonry pillars, the present area of the Dáman i koh or 'skirts of the hills,' a work which was not completed till 1833. The great central valley still remained the property of the *zamándár* of *pargana* Bhágalpur till 1839, when it too was resumed. The premission to Santáls to settle in the valleys and on the lower slopes of the Dáman i-koh, stimulated Santál immigration to an enormous extent ; and it might be supposed that the natural consequence of that immigration would have been the admission of the Santáls to the exceptional privileges which the Paháriás already enjoyed. But this measure, although more than once proposed, was not approved by Government ; and the next phase in the history of the District is the Santál rebellion of 1855-56.

The story of that rebellion, and the causes which led to it, would occupy more space than can here be given ; but the reader will find an exhaustive account of it in Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, and a shorter sketch under article INDIA (*ante*, Vol. VI.). The Santáls, starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the Hindu money-lenders who had taken advantage of their simplicity and improvidence, found themselves arrayed in arms against the British Government. The insurrection was not repressed without bloodshed, but it led to the establishment of a form of administration congenial to the Santál immigrants ; and a land settlement has recently been carried out on conditions favourable to the occupants of the soil.

Missionary efforts have resulted in but little effect on the general Hindu population, "or on the more civilized inhabitants of the towns." As to the ethnical division of the people, Dr. Hunter holds that—

The distribution of the races in the Santál Parganás is traceable rather to the controlling action of Government, than to the geographical position or physical conformation of the District. The colony of Paháriás which occupies the Rajmahál hills, is like an advanced outpost, cut off from the main body of the aboriginal races farther west by the great Aryan line of communication between Bengal and Behar. Although the crests of the ranges are barren enough to deter any other race from contesting their possession with the Paháriás, yet there is little doubt that but for the ring fence erected by Government between 1825 and 1833, all the lands of the lower levels would have been occupied by Bengali or Hindustani immigrants. Since the enclosure of the Dáman i-koh, however, a continual stream of Santál immigrants has been pouring into the District from Hazáribagh and Manbhum, and occupying the valleys and lower slopes of the hills which the Paháriás do not cultivate. The remaining inhabitants of the District are either Bengali immigrants from the south east, or Hindustanis from the north west ; but the Census returns afford no means of estimating the relative strength of the two nationalities in the Santál Parganás. With reference to the three tracts of hilly, undulating, and alluvial country into which the District is divided, it may be laid down with approximate correctness, that the hilly country is inhabited mainly by Santáls, Paháriás, and other aboriginal tribes ; the undulating region by semi-aboriginal races, with a smaller proportion of aborigines and a fair sprinkling of Aryan settlers ; and the alluvial strip of country almost entirely by Aryans.

We are glad to hear that in consequence of railway development and Public Works exigencies, wages for labourers have risen appreciably of late years. It may be new to many of our readers that in 1864, there was not a single Government School in the Santhál Parganás. In 1870-71 there were only 47 : Sir George Campbell's educational reforms amended that shortcoming. Has the good work Sir George did in his satrapy ever been properly considered apart from his unfortunate Yankee habit of speech, and tendency to personalities? The note on Santal physiognomy seems worth quoting :—

The Santáls, like the Khárwars, belong to, or have mixed much with the dark races of India. The Cheros, Hos, and Mundas are on the whole fairer, and possess more distinct traces of the Tartar type. The Santáls are noticeable for a great vagueness in the chiselling of the features, a general tendency to roundness of outline where sharpness is more conducive to beauty, a blubbery style of face, and both in male and female, a greater tendency to corpulency than we meet in their cognates. Their faces are almost round ; cheek-bones moderately prominent ; nose of somewhat a retrousée style, but generally broad and depressed ; mouth large, and lips very full and projecting ; hair straight, and coarse, and black. Hr. Mann remarks of them, and I concur in the remark, that their cast of countenance almost approaches the Negro type.

Among the Santáls in Chutia Nagpur, the sun (Singh Bonghra) is supreme God. In the Eastern districts the tiger is worshipped ; but in Ramgurh, only those who have suffered loss through that animal's attachment to their relatives accord him reverence. Marriages, it is written, are generally love matches, and on the whole—happy ones. But it is considered more respectable for arrangements matrimonial to be made by parents or guardians without any acknowledged reference to the young people themselves. The average price of a girl is five rupees. No priest officiates at a Santál marriage. The social meal, eaten by the boy and girl together, is the most important part of the ceremony. Santáls seldom have more than one wife, and she is treated with exemplary kindness and consideration. "The funeral ceremonies of the Santál varies from the practice of the Hos and Munda tribes. The body is borne away on a *chárpái* or cot by kinsmen ; and when it reaches a cross-road, some parched rice and cotton-seed are scattered about, as a charm against the malignant spirits that might throw obstacles in the way of the ceremony. It is then taken to a funeral pile near some reservoir or stream and placed on it. The son or brother is the first to apply fire to the body, by placing a piece of burning wood on the face of the corpse ; and soon all that is left are ashes and a few charred fragments of bones of the skull, which are carefully preserved. Towards evening, it is customary for a man to take his seat near the ashes with a winnowing fan, in which



he tosses rice till a frenzy appears to seize him, and he becomes inspired and says wonderful things. After the incremation, the immediate relatives of the deceased have to undergo a quarantine, as impure, for five days. On the sixth they shave themselves and bathe, and sacrifice a cock. In due course, the bones that have been saved are taken by the nearest of kin to the Dámodar. He enters the stream bearing the sacred relics on his head in a basket; and selecting a place where the current is strong, he dips, and commits the contents of his basket to the water, to be borne away to the great ocean as the resting-place of the race. All inquirers on the subject appear to have arrived at the conclusion that the Santáls have no belief in a future state. The pilgrimage to the Dámodar with the remains, is simply an act of reverence and affection, unconnected with any idea that there is a place where those who have left this world may meet again. It is to be observed that when the Santáls in disposing of their dead differ from the Mundas, they approximate to the Brahmanical custom. It is, in fact, a rough outline of the Bráhma ritual, and only wants filling in. The halting at cross-roads and the scattering of rice, the application of fire, first to the head by a relation, the collecting of the charred bones, especially those of the head, are all included in the ceremonies enjoined on Bráhmans and orthodox Hindus. The Bráhma, like the Santál, carefully preserves the bones in an earthen vessel; he is ordered to bury them in a safe place till a convenient season arrives for his journey to the sacred river—in his case, the Ganges—where he consigns the vessel with its contents to the waters.

There is an admirable condensed story of the life and adventures of the Begum Sumroo in Vol. XII, also a statistical history of Simla-bar Bow-wows. Also a concise account of the Sibsagar District. Dr. Hunter deems the existing waste land tenure rules there decidedly favourable to the cultivator; and he notes the gradual disappearance from the district of the landless, day-labouring classes. Whether this is a sign of prosperity, to be regarded as an unmixed blessing, we are not told. One great blessing about Dr. Hunter's writing is that it is not didactic, and quite uncommitted to fads. He never forgets that it is a Gazatteer's primary and most important business to represent facts. It is, so to speak, an adventitious circumstance that at his hands the most Dry-as-dust facts receive literary embellishment. In that connection we may give a passing word to the evident carefulness with which his elucidatory maps and plans have been elaborated. He is thorough going in all respects. The Sirsa District in the Panjab gets a paragraph devoted to its "Natural Calamities." Tavi is a

petty state in Kathiawar, consisting of one village, and two shareholders, "or tribute payers."

The Pachaimalai hills contain a fair amount of jungle, the most common tree being the *usilai* (*Albizia amara*). The recent extension of cultivation has denuded the hills of much of the jungle on the summit, though there are still in parts large areas of fairly good forest, containing valuable trees, such as blackwood, teak, *vengai* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), and *vekkali* (*Anogeissus latifolia*). Clumps of bamboo are scattered all over the hills. The minor products of the hills consist of gall-nuts, and a few barks, honey, wax, etc.; the hill gooseberry is found in large quantities. A considerable revenue is obtained from the sale of forest products, and from fuel for the South Indian Railway Company. The Forest Department commenced work here in 1871, but little was done beyond the formation of railway fuel reserves and plantations till quite recently. There are now a number of plantations, principally *Casuarina*, along the banks of the Káveri and the Coleroon.

The larger wild animals are almost extinct. A tiger now and then makes his appearance; bears and leopards are occasionally found on the Pachaimalai hills and in Perambalur *táluk*. Snipe, teal, and wild duck are plentiful, but no game of any other description.

It would be easy to fill this number of the *Calcutta Review* with interesting extracts from these concluding volumes of Dr Hunter's magnum opus—a work of which the Service to which he belongs may well feel proud.

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#### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

*Kalyána Manjusá, or Nyáya Prakása.* By Sri Swámí Indra Chandra (surnamed Sinha). Calcutta Rámnaráyana Press, 1945 Samvat.

**I**F brevity be the soul of wit, this little book of forty-four pages must be, on the face of it, a work of considerable merit; for it purports to be an exposition of the Hindu system of Logic first taught by Gautama in numerous condensed aphorisms, supplemented by 550 more of Kanáda, and expounded and expanded by a host of later Hindu thinkers and writers. It was not without fear and trembling, therefore, that we approached the examination of its contents, and we frankly confess that our examination has not been altogether disappointing. The evident care, labour and research bestowed on its compilation, challenge the attention and approval of every thoughtful reader. We wish we could say as much of the manner of the writer, which seems susceptible of considerable improvement. Apparently, the pamphlet under notice is the author's maiden attempt at composition, as it is not uniformly characterised by that perspicuity which one would expect in a treatise on Logic. For this shortcoming, the abstruseness of the subject-matter is, no doubt, to some extent answerable; still, we think, in the hands of a



practised writer, like the late lamented Bibu Akshaya Kumára Datta, the subject would undoubtedly have received greater elucidation. It is no small credit, however, to a young man of leisure and wealth to have attempted to grapple with a difficult branch of science, and we hail the appearance of this little book as a sure sign that Young Bengal is turning his attention from insipid *nátakas* and unromantic romances, to the cultivation of more profitable branches of knowledge.

This is not the place, nor do we feel competent to discuss the merits of an ancient system of Logic. We will only take the liberty to remind our readers that the *Nyáya* system of the Hindus is not strictly a system of Logic in the sense it is understood by us. Its scope is much larger, and it is in fact intended rather to furnish a correct method of philosophical inquiry into all the subjects of human knowledge, including the process of reasoning and the laws of thought, which form only a branch of a larger topic. The *Vaisesika* of Kanáda is a natural expansion of the *Nyáya*, and is properly a system of physical science, illustrating the varied applications of the principles of the *Nyáya*. In the modern schools, the two systems are combined and studied together, as in the *Bhāṣā-parichchheda*, one of the standard treatises on Logic in Sanskrit.

In the examination of this little book, we are met at the outset by the inquiry, what are its scope and objects? The author has vouchsafed no explanation on this head. He has not even defined or explained the term *Nyáya*, which he professes to expound. This is an omission much to be regretted; for we should be very reluctant to find fault with the writer for what he never intended to accomplish. As far as we can gather from the arrangement of the topics of his discourse, we should think the writer proposed to compile a system of pure Logic, or art of reasoning. But we are not sure that we are correct in our inference; for we find he has mixed up the abstract aphorisms of Gautama with later Vedāntic interpretations. We need hardly say that this mixture of reason and dogma is little calculated to facilitate the exposition of the first general principles of the science. Notwithstanding the assurance given in the preface that the book is intended for general readers, we fear they will experience the same difficulty as we have done.

The *Nyáya sūtra* of Gautama comprises five divisions, of which the first consists of sixty aphorisms, while the *Vaisesika sūtra* of Kanáda contains, as we have said, 550 more. At first sight, it would appear almost an impossible task to compress so much condensed thought and disquisition within the compass of a small pamphlet, and we are not surprised, therefore, to find that this result has been arrived at by the

excision of most essential principles and discussions. For this procedure the book itself does not afford any explanation whatever. We suppose the author was thus led to treat the subject from a conviction, that he was thereby simplifying and improving the methods of reasoning. But he must remember that the aphorisms of Gautama, like the propositions of Euclid, have each its appointed place and function in the system, and are all so graduated and inter-dependent on one another, that the least, and apparently the most obvious, could not be displaced or missed without weakening the whole system.

As an illustration of the matter and manner of our author, we subjoin a translation of his chapter on *pramāna*, that is, the means or instrument by which *pramā*, or the right knowledge of any subject, is to be obtained. We will only premise by explaining that the first *sutra* of *Nyāya* proper, lays down, sixteen subjects to be discussed, of which the first is *pramāna*, the order or method of discussion being as follows, *viz.* (1) enunciation, (2) definition, and (3) investigation. Our author has treated the subject in the form of a dialogue :—

#### *Of Pramāna.*

*Pramāna* is the instrument of *pramā*.

Q.—What is *pramā* and what is the instrument of *pramā*?

A.—*Pramā* is the correct knowledge or measure of a subject.

Q.—What is correct knowledge?

A.—Knowledge may be either correct or incorrect. The latter may arise from doubt, false premises, or perversion and disputation.

Q.—What is doubt?

A.—For example, a tree is in sight, but you hesitate to affirm whether it is a tree or not. This state of mind is doubt.

Q.—What is perversion?

A.—Perversion is the taking of a thing to be that which it is not; *e.g.*, when you see a distant tree without leaves, and take it to be a man or some other object, it is called perversion.

Q.—What is disputation?

A.—For example, two persons going the same way, see the trunk of a tree. One of them takes it to be a man, while the other affirms it to be a heap of earth. The result of their disagreement would be called disputation.

There is another and fourth source of incorrect knowledge, originating in the past recollection of an object; *e.g.*, some time ago, I visited a distant country of which I retain some recollections. This knowledge may prove incorrect. For who can say whether the country is now in precisely the same state as when I saw it.



Thus *pramā* is the right knowledge or measure of a subject, free from doubt, perversion, disputation and errors of memory.

Q.—Now what is an *instrument* ?

A.—That which produces an action or effect is its *cause*, that by which an action is efficiently produced is its *instrument*.

Q.—Explain more clearly what is meant by *cause* ?

A.—*Cause* is that which invariably precedes an effect, which, without the cause, could not be ; *e.g.*, twist, warp and woof are the cause of the production of cloth. They existed before the cloth was produced, and without them the cloth could not be produced. This invariable sequence is law, &c."

It will appear from the above that the definitions, so far as they go, are correct, and in conformity with the philosophical notions of the founder of the science. But what we lack in this book, is an exposition of Gautama's method of scientific investigation, of which the definitions form the most necessary and useful instruments. The writer seems to favor the principle of reasoning from analogy, a principle adopted and illustrated by the Vedāntists, who like Butler and Paley, reasoned from Nature up to Nature's God. But the principle is discredited by the side of the system of pure reason founded by Gautama, and which has been re-produced in these latter days by Berkeley and Hume.

The book, as it now stands, has all the appearance of a collection of notes, taken in the course of the author's readings and researches—very intelligent and clever notes indeed ; but they do not exhaust the subject. They want symmetry and completeness. In the hands of an experienced teacher of Logic, the book, we are persuaded, might be helpful, as bristling with ready-made and convenient terms ; but in the hands of a beginner, acquainted only with the Bengali language, and unacquainted with the Sanskrit systems, it is hardly calculated to prove an useful guide to the study of an admittedly difficult branch of science.

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*Romeo and Juliet : A Romance.* Published by Messrs. L. M. Dás & Co. A'darsa Press, Dacca, 1294 B. E.

THIS book is the first of a series of tales or romances, based on the plots of Shakspeare's plays, which Messrs. L. M. Dás & Co. of Dacca propose to publish from time to time for the use of Bengali readers. The attempt is a laudable one, and the sample before us is a creditable performance. The book is well written, and very neatly printed and bound. It cannot, however, approach in classic purity of style or fidelity to the original, the inimitable "*Lamb's Tales*;" nor is it at all equal to the admirable

adaptation of the *Comedy of Errors* in Bengali by the venerable Vidyásagar. Much as we desire to encourage literary ventures like the present, we cannot but condemn the ambition of the writer to improve upon the original, by the introduction of foreign matter, or by comments and interpellations in the midst of the smooth course of the narrative. The story of *Romeo and Juliet*, so beautiful, so strange, so pathetic, was, we should suppose, sufficient in itself to tax to the utmost the talents of the writer. But no. He must invent. As a sample of his attempt at a display of originality, we translate for our readers the opening paragraph of the first or introductory chapter. It is nothing like the prologue of Shakspeare in which the poet condenses the whole play within the compass of fourteen lines. It is a singularly fanciful genesis of light and darkness, of pleasure and pain.

"The Creator willed—'Let there be light and there was light.' And the light discovered the ends of the universe. The sun and moon appeared in the firmament and lighted up the world. Then, in order to heighten by contrast the glory of the newly created light, and to deepen a desire for it in the breasts of his creatures, the Creator created darkness after light, (*sic*) and mixed up the two together. The creation felt what light and darkness were, but longed for light.

"Then the shadow of darkness fell upon light, pain lurked in pleasure, and tears darkened festivities."

We can quote other passages (see pp. 19, 21, bottom, 37 and 40) equally superfluous and irrelevant, in which false sentiment is paraded by the writer. We will only refer at length to one at p. 95, which is a flagrant instance of the faults we have pointed out. The whole of Chapter XVII is entirely out of place and in extreme bad taste. The fewest words were needed to announce to the reader the ill-fated miscarriage of *Friar Lawrence's* letter to *Romeo*, explaining the subterfuge to which he had resorted to prevent the second marriage of *Juliet* with *Count Paris*. We have, instead, a tedious and scandalously comic dialogue between *Friar Lawrence* and *Friar John*. The former, in his assumed impatience to know the result of his message to *Romeo*, and the latter in his gossiping garrulity in communicating the same, seem to have changed places with *Juliet* and her nurse in the scene before the marriage. While the catastrophe to life, to youth, to beauty, and to love, is trembling in the balance, we are forced to listen to the conversation of two men of religion, which is little short of a libel on religion itself. The chapter is a blot on the fair pages of this book, and should be omitted or revised in the next edition.

"The marvellous story of *Romeo and Juliet*," says *Lamar-tine*, "is so full of thrilling incidents and so perfect in its



simplicity, that even the poet of all ages ventured to invent nothing. He contented himself with giving speech to the lovers, and with adding eloquence to the simple, touching or desperate situations in which the unadorned narrative of the Italian novelist placed his personages." Our advice to the writer of this book is, that he should adhere to his incomparable original ; and in his next, let his readers have the pure and undiluted milk of Shakspeare to drink.

Lastly, we would ask the writer to avoid a few barbarisms we have noticed in his otherwise rich and smooth diction. Bengali is no longer a nascent language. The writings of Vidyáságar, Akshaya Kumár Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and a host of other distinguished writers, have given it a fixity, consistency and polish which have raised it above the unsettled dialects of the country. For instance, who but one hailing from the other side of the Padma would now use *যুঁড়ি* for *যুঁড়ি*, *কুঁড়ি* for *কুঁড়ি*, *জোড়* for *জোর*, *সাঁচাই* for *সাঁচা*, *জেন্না* for *জানান*, *ছানিয়া* for *গড়িয়া*, *নির্ঘাস* for *নিশ্চয়*, *লক্ষণ* for *লক্ষন*, and such phrases as *খা খা করা লাভন্য*, *বেলে বেলে লাভন্য*, which are hardly understood in polished circles.

But in spite of the blemishes and imperfections to which we have drawn attention, the book is a valuable acquisition to Bengali literature, and, we have no doubt, will be largely read and appreciated.

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*Prabandha-Muktāvalī, or Essays on Literature, Science, Morals and Religion.* Calcutta, New Sanskrit Press.

THIS book has been sent to us by the writer for notice. We wish he had not laid us under this obligation ; for we cannot commend his performance, which is the silliest we have ever come across. The book contains two essays and an introduction. The first is an abusive attack on Western civilization, of which the writer seems to have the haziest notions. We translate his peroration for the delectation of our readers.

"If to kill whatever walks the earth, or swims in the sea, or flies in the air, in order to satisfy hunger with their raw or half-cooked meat, constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to eat beef and pork constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to wash after meals, or after the necessary calls of nature, denotes want of civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to eat food cooked by people of the lowest caste constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If a fear to follow the trade of a tanner or shoe-maker indicates want of enlightenment, then we are uncivilized. If to nurse our parents in their old age is reckoned a relic of barbarism, then we are uncivilized. If to live

together with our relatives as one family, denotes want of civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to leave our parents and to cleave to our wives constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to take it as an insult when one's father's name is asked, constitutes true politeness, then we are uncivilized. If to permit our ladies to mix promiscuously with gentlemen in social amusements constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to teach foreign nations the use of spirits and narcotics, and by an enforced commerce enrich ourselves at their expense constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. If to annex the territories of other powers by either stratagem or force constitutes civilization, then we are uncivilized. But, if the exercise and cultivation of the faculties with which nature has endowed us, with a view to the promotion of our bodily, mental, domestic and social advancement, as well as our welfare in this world and in the next, constitutes civilization, then the civilization of the Brahmans is true civilization."

We wonder whether or not the writer was thinking of the Picts and Scots with whom he too recently perhaps made acquaintance at school, when he penned the opening lines of the above elegant extract. But enough. Let us see what he has to say in the other essay which is apparently a review of a Bengali Primer on Physics. On a close examination, we find that the criticisms are verbal and superficial, and the essay is a covert attack on the author of the primer in question, who is the Rector of the Metropolitan Institution and a Fellow of the Calcutta University. As we cannot find method or reason in his criticisms, we decline to notice the personalities in which the writer has indulged himself.







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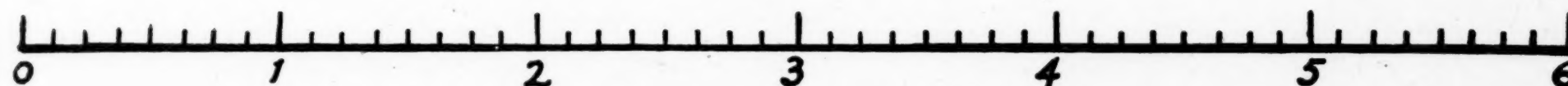
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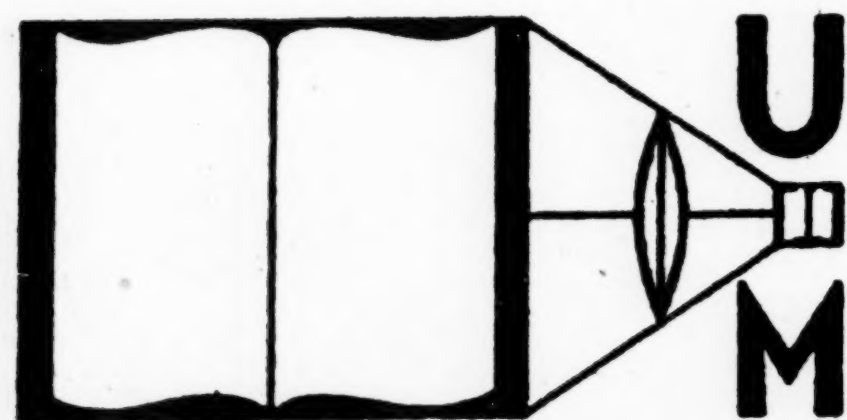
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